JPRS 76208

12 August 1980

USSR Report

POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS

No. 1053

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COMMENTARY ON WASHINGTON'S DISPLEASURE WITH GISCARD

Tbilisi KOMUNISTI in Georgian 25 May 80 p 3

[Article by KOMUNISTI observer Ed. Menabde under rubric "KOMUNISTI Commentary": "The Price of Atlantic Solidarity"]

[Text] Official Washington has abandoned all diplomatic restraint and ethics and blatantly expressed its dissatisfaction with France's "willfulness." The question is whether Paris had the right to continue the dialogue with Moscow or, more specifically, whether President Giscard d'Estaing was justified in his decision to meet CPSU CC General Secretary and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Chairman L. I. Brezhnev in Warsaw and discuss with him a number of international problems, including Afghanistan.

As is well known, France's "obstinate" character became especially clear after General De Gaulle elected to follow an independent foreign policy course and thereby made a significant contribution not only to strengthening France's position in the international arena but also to the process of normalizing the situation on the European continent.

We cannot say, of course, that France's position (especially as regards Afghanistan) coincides with Soviet views, but it is undeniable that the initiative of various countries to settle particular burning problems not only makes for more variety in international life but also provides more opportunities for wise compromise. Whatever the specific outcome of the Warsaw meeting, therefore, it did help the two sides to understand one another's position and somewhat alleviate political tensions.

This is apparently what is displeasing to Washington, which believes in a precise "division of labor": America to lead, America's allies to obey. It is interesting to note that when the Carter administration was preparing the operation to free the hostages in Tehran, it did not deem it necessary to confer with its allies in advance (that is, to behave as it now demands France behave), even though the action could have resulted in a catastrophe.

Be that as it may, the Warsaw meeting confirmed at least two truths: first, that in an era of weapons of mass destruction there can be no alternative to negotiations; second, the so-called Atlantic solidarity is a bluff, nothing more.

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CSO: 1810

GEORGIAN OBSERVER COMMENTS ON ISRAELI-EGYPTIAN TALKS

Tbilisi KOMUNISTI in Georgian 17 May 80 p 3

[Article by KOMUNISTI political commentator S. Tsintsadze under rubric "KOMUNISTI's Commentary": "Latest Change of Window Dressing"]

[Text] International observers have long grown accustomed to the extravagant pirouettes of Egypt's president. After meeting Begin in Jerusalem, signing one of the most antinational documents in Egypt's history at Camp David, "trading away the fate of the Palestinian people for a handful of sand in the Sinai Desert," turning his back on the whole Arab world, and flirting like a high school girl with Israel's ruling circles, what does he have left to surprise his contemporaries with? Nevertheless, the other day the world press followed with a certain amount of interest the latest (the umpteenth!) reorganization of the Egyptian government. As is well known, Sadat "at this historic time" himself took on all responsibility and occupied the prime minister's chair.

In our opinion, the reorganization was not a casual thing. The number of state officials enchanted with the Camp David negotiations is dwindling day by day in Egypt itself. Moreover, time is passing. The timetables agreed on at Camp David are running out, and the effect desired by Sadat still remains only theoretical, however much he tries. Begin himself had to express his official surprise and satisfaction at the pace of Sadat's "normalization" of relations (which amounted virtually to unilateral concession). From time to time, Sadat has pouted like a spoiled child and broken off negotiations for a few days, but these antics have only caused smiles in Tel Aviv and Washington. The Alexandria round failed to take place last Monday, but by Wednesday, after a telephone conversation with Carter, he himself announced that negotiations would resume in a few days.

Moreover, it appears that Begin and Sadat went to Camp David with different plans in mind. Begin, as usual, was thinking about pure profit; Sadat was counting on concessions to win political dividends in the long run. Israel's Defense Minister Weizman even expressed the hope that "the Israeli-Arab [i.e., Israeli-Egyptian] peace agreement would lay the groundwork for a bloc against the Soviet Union under the aegis of the United States."

Sadat had nothing against this, of course, but this is not the only reason he went to Jerusalem and Washington. Nor would he win much approval in the Arab world with the idea of an anti-Soviet bloc. The main thing was the Palestinian problem, something Sadat was well aware of.

The exactly opposite opinion prevails in Tel Aviv, where it is thought that the Palestine problem has declined in importance against the background of recent events and that it is necessary to "fight the communist menace, which threatens Western interests in the oil-rich region." For this reason, Israel is playing a bigger role as a strong state willing "to give up anything" for the interests of the free world. But this is not the main point. The main point is the conclusion to be reached by a West "expecially Washington" grateful for Israel's position, giving priority to Israel in its strategic plans, and providing Israel with the most military, economic, and diplomatic aid. This is how the thinking goes in Tel Aviv, and not just there, unfortunately. It is not realistic, therefore, for Sadat to assume that he can seriously compete with Israel as Washington's ally.

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CSO: 1810

GEORGIAN COMMENTATOR ON 'HARDENING POSITIONS'

Tbilisi KOMUNISTI in Georgian 21 May 80 p 3

[Article by KOMUNISTI political observer E. Menabde under rubric: "KOMUNISTI Review": "Last Week. This Side and That Side of the Watershed"]

[Text] Although there has been no major breakthrough or shift in international relations in the past few days, and dangerous events continued to unfold against the rather pale background of international detente, last week's news nevertheless indicates the beginning of a new stage. The foreign policies of the world's leading countries have never been a very big mystery, but conferences and meetings in Warsaw (the jubilee conference of the political consultative committee of the participating states of the Warsaw Pact) and Brussels (meetings of official NATO organs), Vienna (A. Gromyko's meeting with E. Muskie) and earlier in Belgrade (at the time of President I. Tito's burial), and now in Naples (conference of the foreign ministers of the "Common Market" countries) and Islamabad (representatives of 38 Islamic states) attest to the further hardening of the sides' positions, the widening gap between political forces, and final drawing of the watershed line. And it may be said that the dangerous world situation has left no one unconcerned. This does not mean, of course, that reaction has been uniform everywhere. Summarizing the results of the Warsaw and the Brussels conferences, the CPSU CC Politburo, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the USSR Council of Ministers noted: "The imperialist and hegemonistic forces are striving to step up the arms race and are creating situations of conflict, thus further increasing the threat of war. At their latest meetings in May, official NATO organs again took steps in this direction. Against NATO's dangerous course the nations of the Warsaw Pact match a broad program of action designed to eliminate the danger of resumption of 'Cold War,' strengthen trust and mutual understanding in international relations, and place the course of events in a healthy, peaceful channel."

The accuracy of this definition of the situation is clearly apparent in comparing the resolutions adopted in Warsaw and Brussels. The countries of the socialist commonwealth set forth a whole complex of concrete and constructive proposals designed to halt the arms race and turn to disarmament,

while the NATO countries focused on nothing but demands for the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan and military measures against the Soviet Union.

For five months now the West has been trying to convince the world that the danger of resumption of the "Cold War" is related to the events in Afghanistan. NATO's leaders claim that the course of events in that region "has changed the strategic balance of forces throughout the world," bringing about a sharp change in the global policies of the United States. This, by the way, is more or less admitted by the American bourgeois press. The CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR wrote the other day, for example, that while in the past Carter's policies called for detente toward the Soviet Union, since the events in Afghanistan they have clearly taken on the character of power politics.

At the same time, a number of other reactionary and hegemonistic powers seem to be stirring, as seen once more in Pakistan President Zia-Ul-Hak's visit to Peking. In this case there can be no doubt about Western press reports that during the visit the two sides agreed on their positions with regard to Afghanistan.

It is interesting to note that the rather difficult world situation is being taken advantage of not only by the imperialist "tigers" but also their "jackal" hangers-on. In recent days, Israel's leaders once again worsened the situation in the Near East: the Knesset enacted the annexation of East Jerusalem and declared it Israel's capital city. This was such a blatant display of the expansionism of Begin's government that even Sadat balked and broke off negotiations concerning autonomy for the Palestinians, which were to be concluded by 26 May. It appears, however, that Begin is not much worried. He thinks that Sadat does not have any other way out and will have to give in to Israel's diktat.

"Jackal activity" is also observed in South Korea, where a military junta has taken control of the government, instituted martial law, banned political activities, and jailed opposition leaders. Nevertheless, of course, South Korea remains in the ranks of "Western democracy" and defenders of "human rights," demonstrating this once more by boycotting the Moscow Olympics.

Undoubtedly, all of these facts are new reflections of old tendencies. They prove once again that the world situation is extremely complex and tense, which, by the way, evoked the following completely justified reaction by the World Peace Council: "Warning: Danger of War!"

It would be wrong to think, nevertheless, that nothing in the world has changed. While the events of last week indicated a widening gap between forces, we cannot help noting some signs of sobering up.

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CSO: 1810

60TH ANNIVERSARY OF SOVIET-TURKISH RELATIONS NOTED

Tbilisi KOMUNISTI in Georgian 1 Jun 80 p 2

[Article by V. Krasnov: "An Example of Equal Relations. 2 June Marks the 60th Anniversary of the Establishment of Diplomatic Relations Between the Soviet Union and Turkey"]

[Text] M. K. Ataturk, the founder of the Turkish republic, valued his friendship with the Soviet Union highly. He viewed it as one of the most important elements of Turkish foreign policy. This friendship was founded on the basis of the friendship and brotherhood treaty signed in March 1921.

Today, contacts between our two countries set an example of international relations based on equal rights. The Soviet Union is constantly striving to widen this relationship.

A political document was signed in the summer of 1978 affirming the principles of good neighborliness and friendly cooperation between the Soviet Union and Turkey. This document more or less summed up the efforts made in recent years by officials of both states to strengthen friendly relations, and it mapped out new prospects for further deepening and widening cooperation and relations on the basis of equality.

Relations on the basis of equality between the two countries are specifically reflected in their trade and economic cooperation, which is already playing a vital role in Turkey's economic life. The Kayseri and Nazilli cotton mills built with Soviet aid in the 1930s are still operating successfully. And in the past decade, Soviet specialists have helped Turkish industry to build such facilities as the Iskenderun Metallurgy Combine, the Seydesehir Aluminum Combine, the Aliaga Petrochemical Plant, the Bandirgi Sulfuric Acid Plant, and others.

Of great importance now to solving Turkey's energy crisis is the Soviet Union's delivery of petroleum products and cheap electricity. Turkish economists, business people, and officials are highly appreciative of the Soviet Union's contribution to the country's industrialization. They note that this contribution will help to bring Turkey's economy up to the level

which will enable Turkey to rely on its own resources. Moreover, the construction of major industrial enterprises is an excellent school for training skilled cadres.

Against the background of the successes achieved in good neighborliness and cooperation between the Soviet Union and Turkey, the so-called "aid" being given to Turkey by Western countries under the leadership of the United States is rather awkward. The purpose of this "aid" is to chain Turkey as much as possible to the aggressive NATO bloc. By means of blatant pressure and blackmail, the Carter administration has imposed a new military treaty on Turkey in the guise of a questionable promise of "military-economic aid." This treaty spells out the permanent status of American bases on Turkish territory. This "aid," which entails demands contrary to the national interests of the Turkish people, is a typical sample of the imperialistic and hegemonistic policies of the Carter administration.

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CSO: 1810

SWEDISH REPORTER ASKS UZBEK MUFTI ABOUT AFGHANISTAN OPINIONS

Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 17 Jul 80 p 8

[Article by Staffan Teste]

[Text] Afghan guerrillas have announced that a Soviet offensive is forthcoming after the end of the Olympic Games on 3 August. But a worldwide Islamic conference has been scheduled for 9-11 September in Tashkent in the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic on the border of Afghanistan. Therefore a Soviet escalation in Afghanistan seems unlikely before that time according to DAGENS NYHETER correspondent Staffan Teste who traveled around in Uzbekistan where he asked about the view Soviet Moslems have of Afghanistan and met some young Moslem believers.

"We feel a deepseated fellowship with the Afghan people as well as strong sympathy for them, living as they do in poverty and backwardness," said deputy mufti Jusupkhan Zhakirov, head of the Moslem religious council for Central Asia and Kazakhstan.

Islam is the major religion among the more than 40 million Turkish-speaking inhabitants of the Soviet Union. The Moslems belong to four geographically scattered areas with centers in Tashkent, Baku, Bhinaksk and Ufa.

"It was the decision of the Afghan people to embark on a course running counter to development with the 1978 April Revolution.

"Events in Afghanistan have similarities with what happened in Soviet Asia," the deputy mufti said.

"The Moslem conference in Islamabad at which the problem of Afghanistan was discussed was a poor conference," said deputy mufti Zhakirov.

"Palestine is a much more important problem for Moslems now than Afghanistan. But it came out after the Islamabad conference that no one would listen to those who wanted to bring up and discuss that issue. If the Islamabad conference had taken up the problems and discussed them objectively it would have gained respect. But not now."

But the deputy mufti conceded that Afghan leaders also support the guerrilla forces and that Moslem leaders in other countries view the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan with disfavor.

"In contrast to the Islamabad conference in Pakistan which did not invite everybody--Afghanistan was not included although there was a great desire to participate--we will be arranging a conference in September for all the Moslems around the world with whom we traditionally have had contacts. We are sending invitations to such countries as Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Iran, Pakistan and the United States among others.

"We are hoping that 200 representatives from about 80 lands will be attending. The leaders of the Islamabad conference in Pakistan have already agreed to attend."

The Moslem leader in TashKent is clearly aware of his role in the Soviet system. Religious activity is separated from the state and must not become involved in politics. But the formation of an Islamic republic in Iran had led to Soviet Islamic leaders coming into focus in a new and different way. The line between politics and religion has been blurred. At the same time Soviet leaders have tended their own Moslems as never before and given them freer hands.

There is also a militant element in the Soviet Union today that advocates a liberation of the Soviet Moslem republics. The demand can even be supported by Lenin's words from the beginning of the revolution when he said that the Islamic people "should rule themselves."

"We will maintain friendly relations with the Islamic Republic of Iran and we condemn President Carter's actions," said the deputy mufti. When asked what he thought about the American diplomatic hostages he added:

"Taking diplomats as hostages is contrary to international rules. They are people who cannot be treated in this way. But we believe the problem will be solved."

Islamic Lifestyle Attracts Modern People

Akbar Kakharov is 26. He is the father of three children and dreams of someday making the pilgrimage to Mecca. Kakharov is an orthodox Moslem, a Sunnite. He recently passed his final exams at Tashkent's Islamic Institute.

He belongs to what he regards as a steadily growing number of young people turning to Islam.

"I do it because I am a believer," said Akbar Kakharov. "My father was religious, an imam, leader of a mosque. There were 10 of us children who grew up with the Koran in the house. I am the only one who continued to study religion. The others are studying at the university."

At the moment Kakharov is doing a variety of things for the religious council in Tashkent. It took him many years to get here. First regular school, then education in the religious school, the madras in Bukhara, for 6 years and then 4 years in Tashkent. Now that he has taken his examination Kakharov himself has a chance to become an imam some day, like his father.

"There is no difficulty in being a faithful Moslem. If you believe, all you have to do is come to the mosque. So many people do come.

"There isn't really any difference between the life of a believer and that of anyone else," Kakharov said. "A Moslem doesn't drink, doesn't smoke and sometimes fasts. But modern people have discovered that this is all to the good.

"In addition a Moslem doesn't eat pork, has no sexual relations with women other than his wife, doesn't swear and doesn't lie.

"Thus there is no problem in living one's life as a believer in Islam," Kakharov said.

Education More Attractive

Although Kakharov claimed that more and more young people were turning to the Islamic religion it is hard to back this up with facts. In the main mosque in Tashkent during the traditional Friday prayers one can see several young people and boys attending with their parents but most of those attending are men, older men. In this mosque there is also a special draped prayer location out in the courtyard for women.

Young Soviet citizens in the cities of Tashkent, Samarkand and Bukhara which I visited told me that Islam does not attract young people today.

Insteady they study.

"The more educated you become the less you believe in religion," they said.

The Soviet mass media report that surveys in this part of Soviet Asia show that between 15 and 40 percent of older men go to the mosque each

Friday. Most of the believers are found in the older age groups, we were told. This is also confirmed by the visual impression one gets during a visit at the Friday prayer hour in the main mosque in Tashkent.

But the information given by the "trained" Soviet tourist guides that few people go to the mosques and there is no need for any more turned out to be a lie. They tried to tell us that only 75-150 people went to the Friday prayer hour.

However the guide in Tashkent didn't say that much. He went along with me for the first or second time in his life when I went to the mosque courtyard during the prayer hour and could see for himself that there were around 3000 people there at most. Moslem leaders say they have 4-5000 people there at the prayer meetings every Friday.

New Mosques

And pressure from the faithful for access to more places of prayer is mounting. According to Soviet law a group of 20 believers can form an assembly and request their own place of prayer if they can finance it.

We were told that within the Tashkent Moslem council's domaine they had provided more than 20 mosques for the faithful in the last 5 years.

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CSO: 3109

MUSLIMS IN THE SOVIET UNION: JOURNALISTS' ACCOUNT

Kuwait AL-ARABI in Arabic No 254, Jan 80 pp 82-105

[Article by Fahmi Huwidi: "The World of Soviet Muslims"]

[Text] I have earned the right to take credit for two "discoveries" which I made during an "investigative" mission among Soviet Muslims. The first concerns the return to life and to religious practice of three Sufist [religious] ways of life that, collectively, may be characterized as "Reclusive Islam." These include the Naqshabandi, Shazli and Qadri ways [Sufist religious philosophies]. The second discovery concerns the existence of a new generation of people who compete to read Sayyid Qutb's book MAA'LIM 'ALA AL-TORIQ [Landmarks Along The Way], and who may be described as an "Revolutionary Islam."

I do not hesitate to use the term "discoveries" to underscore the fact that the world of Soviet Muslims remains shrouded in a great deal of mystery. Much of this world remains unknown, a subject of controversy and legend-like tales. The sad fact is that few have managed to glimpse this world free of the influence of propagandists who claim that Soviet Muslims live in hell, or those who insist that they enjoy a paradise-like life. The situation is so bad that it has become nigh impossible to see the world of Soviet Muslims as it really is, without distortion or prejudice.

It is a fact that during the past decade Soviet Muslims have become a subject of interest to Europeans and, more so, to Americans. (We do not include here the Arabs and the remainder of the Muslim world who, too, are naturally concerned with the welfare of Soviet Muslims.) This interest increased as the number of Soviet Muslims increased at a dramatic rate--5 times that of the Russians. Thus, they have become a population factor to be reckoned with, and a potential future demographic danger, following the addition of the term "Separatists" to the modern Soviet lexicon. Interest in Soviet Muslims has also been affected by other considerations: the current political developments, the death of numerous [political] theories, and a return to religion in general. The most important factor in heightening interest in Soviet Muslims, however, is the Islamic revolution in Iran, a country that lies directly at the back door of the Soviet Union and immediately adjacent to the Soviet Islamic republics. Specifically, Iran is adjacent to Turkomanistan, whose people speak a language closely related to Farsi, and Azerbaijan, whose people speak only Farsi.

Since the Iranian revolution, all eyes have been focused on the Soviet Muslims. Those who had not been paying attention in the past--again we exclude the Arabs and Muslims--suddenly turned to their attention to the files on the Muslims who inhabit what is often called "the land beyond the river," the same people who, until the beginning of the 19th century, were viewed as an indivisible part of the Islamic world, and whose contribution to Islam in particular, and to mankind in general, is still remembered. All this came to an end when this part of the Islamic world became a group of Russian colonies under the Czars, and then a group of Soviet republics following the October [Communist] Revolution.

Today's events have once again put these people in the spotlight. Questions about them abound. Who are they? What is their number? Do they still remember God? How? Where? Are they really persecuted? Have their mosques been destroyed? The list continues.

These questions, to be exact, are not new. They have been raised for more than 60 years, ever since the Communists came to power in the wake of the October Revolution. The questions have been surfacing on and off according to the [political] developments of the moment. The problem has always been in the answers. Most often the answers were either incomplete or missing altogether.

Despite the fact that this was my second visit to the Muslims of the Soviet Union, and despite the many "discoveries" that I have made, I returned home feeling like a student who has just left the examination room without answering all the test questions, and whose ambition has been reduced to the simple wish of just passing the examination with a satisfactory grade.

I knew beforehand that the mission would not be easy and that there would be many obstacles. There was more to my trip than just ascertaining the truth of some incomplete or distorted facts. I was aware of the Soviets' distrust of foreigners, especially if the foreigner happened to be insistent and inquisitive as journalists are. The subject of my investigation, the Soviet Muslims, was itself a sensitive and controversial issue, much as every Soviet issue is. This sensitivity was to a great extent the result of the unrelenting propaganda campaigns against the Soviet Union during the cold war years, whose aim was to distort the image of the Soviet people and government and to poison their relations with the Muslim world. Aside from blasting Communism as a political system, the propagandists assailed Communist atheism and [aroused Muslim hostility against the Soviets] by underscoring the suffering of Soviet Muslims following the October Revolution.

A concrete example of the effectiveness of anti-Communist propaganda may be seen in campaign waged against the Soviet Union in the wake of last year's events in Ethiopia. The campaign was aimed at creating pro-American, anti-Soviet sentiment, regardless of the objective facts of the situation. To illustrate, let us consider the condition of the 16 million Muslim Ethiopians under Emperor Haile Selassie. Throughout his reign, while Ethiopia was supported with American weapons and bases, not a single voice in the Arab

world was raised in defense of Muslim Ethiopians even though they were no less persecuted than their Turkoman brethren under the Czars. They were deprived of the right to own property, occupy high government offices, build mosques, or conduct religious observances openly. And just as the Orthodox Czars considered Russian Orthodoxy the supreme religion of the state, and only tolerated Islam as a permissible religion, this was the case in Ethiopia, with only a minor difference. The difference was that Catholicism, not Orthodoxy, was the dominant religion of Ethiopia. Muslim Ethiopians survived as second class citizens for 30 years, but as long as the government was allied with America, no one spoke in their defense and Islam was considered secure.

One week after the Selassie government was toppled, the revolutionaries announced that Muslims henceforth would be treated on a par with other citizens, that they would have the right to own property and hold public office. That announcement was jubilantly received by Muslims and 300,000 of them demonstrated in support of it in Addis Ababa. (This took place before the new Ethiopian Government began to wage war against the Muslims of Eritrea.) Yet, despite all this, Friday preachers and the so-called Islamic media call upon us every week to save the Muslims of Ethiopia. The only reason is that the [new] Ethiopian Government is pro-Soviet.

I do not wish to go into the details of the successful, devastating anti-Soviet propaganda to which we have been subjected. But I do want to point out the deep-rooted misconception that everything Soviet is Communist and vice versa. Despite the fact that of the Soviet Union's 262 million people only 16 million are Communist Party members (1979 statistics), many of us believe that every Soviet Citizen is Communist. Furthermore, those who hold this belief base their views on this erroneous assumption. It is not surprising, then, that Arab or Muslim travelers to Moscow or Tashkent arrive with a set of erroneous, prejudiced misconceptions. While some remain prisoners of their misbeliefs, others manage to free themselves. Should one be lucky to arrive in Moscow without any pre-conceived notions, however, one will soon be met with wariness and suspicion in the form of a [Soviet] guide or companion. The guides accompany the traveler wherever he goes and keep him in sight at all times. In some cases even permission to go to the lavatory in privacy is given grudgingly.

While in Moscow, we stayed at the Peking Hotel (the same hotel I stayed at 10 years ago) which, apparently, is reserved for guests of the Office of Religious Affairs, before flying to Tashkent, the gateway to Central Asia and the world of Soviet Muslims. Barely a few hours after arriving there, I had already met people from 4 different ethnic groups, speaking 4 distinct languages. The only thing they had in common was that they were all Muslims and spoke Russian in addition to their native languages. The representative of the Office of Religious Affairs who met us in Tashkent was an Uzbeck of Mogul descent. Our guide, who also acted as our guard, was a Daghistani of Turkish descent. Our driver was a Muslim from Tajikstan of Hindu-Afghan descent. The porter who took care of our luggage was an Azerbaijani of Persian descent. By the time we entered the hotel restaurant for lunch the list of nationalities of people we had met had so grown that the restaurant began to resemble a meeting hall at the United Nations. Nearly every ethnic group and tribe from Asia and Asia Minor was represented.

What we saw on that first day was a small scale picture of the ethnic makeup of Soviet society in general and Soviet Muslims in particular. While Soviet publications speak clearly of the complexity of Soviet society, non-Soviet publications not only pay greater attention to it, but pin greater "hopes" on its growth and the potential risks it poses for the Soviet Union. The Soviets, when asked, do not hesitate to put the obvious, basic facts before their visitors. They will officially admit that while the number of Soviet republics is only 15, the number of nationalities and ethnic groups within the Soviet Union is at least 100, with 100 distinct languages. They will also admit that there are 40 religions and religious sects in their country, and that Islam has the largest number of adherents after Orthodox Christianity. While no official census based on religious affiliation exists--the practice was discontinued after the October Revolution and replaced by one based on ethnicity--the number of Muslims most frequently cited in Soviet publications is 40 million.

The ethnic origin-based census employed in the Soviet Union has yielded a rather interesting fact. A group of Uzbeck citizens claiming Arab descent was officially recorded. The group lives in a village called 'Arbakhana, and its elders claim descent from the now extinct tribes of Quraysh, Shiban, and Ba'al. With the exception of a very few Arabic words, the 28,000 people of the village now speak only Uzbeck and Russian. In one of the ironies of fate, the village is officially called "Moscow's Farm" in the government's regional economic classification survey.

While we have concentrated on the skeletal outlines of the demography of the Soviet Union, the little details reveal a veritable mosaic of human diversity, particularly in the Muslim regions. Originally inhabited by Turkish tribes, the demographic makeup of these regions was eventually altered by the addition of Moguls, Hindu-Afghans, and Iranians. Most of these details are found in Soviet publications.

There are 6 republics with populations that are more than 80 percent Muslim. These are: Uzbeckstan, Kazakhastan, Azerbaijan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan and Kirgiz. The republics are independent, with their own presidents, cabinets and parliaments, but are members of federal union, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

There are 4 republics with populations that are between 50 and 70 percent Muslim. These are not independent members of the federal union, but are centrally governed from Moscow. They include Bashkiria, Tataria, Daghistan, and Agaria [or Ajaria]. In addition, tens of thousands of Muslims are scattered in other Soviet republics.

The Uzbeks, numbering 11 million, are the largest Muslim group. They are followed by the Tatars, approximately 7 million, the Kazaks, approximately 6 million, and the Azeris of Azerbaijan, 5 million. The list goes on to include the following groups which range from 1 to 3 million: the Turkmen, the Kirghiz, the Bashkirs, the Caucasians, and the Daghestanis.

Racial and ethnic diversity is almost endless, for within each republic there is a second human mosaic. For example, Daghistan has 10 distinct ethnic groups and that many distinct languages. They include the Avars, Dargins, Lezgins, (Kumyks) Lakis, and others.

Soviet Muslims are under the jurisdiction of 4 regional religious administrations of the Office of Religious Affairs, which is an arm of the Soviet Council of Ministers headquartered in Moscow. Each administration is headed by a president who, in principle, is elected by the clergy or the "spiritual leaders" as the Soviets prefer to call them.

The largest of these religious administrations is the one located in Tashkent, with jurisdiction over Central Asia and Kazakhstan, and headed by the best known spiritual leader Diya' al-Din Baba Khan. Judge Diay'al'Din has occupied this position since the Stalin era, nearly 35 years ago. The second administration, with jurisdiction over the European part of the USSR and Siberia is located in Ufa, the capital of Bashkiria. The third, with jurisdiction over the northern part of Caucasia, is located in Buinaksk in Daghistan. The fourth, located in the industrial town of Baku, the capital of Azerbaijan, has jurisdiction over the Muslims of Transcaucasia.

Soviet Muslims have a conspicuously high rate of birth, a fact that receives little or no mention in official Soviet statements or publications. The most recent reference to this point appeared last June in the magazine SONS OF MOSCOW, No 24, in an article by Yusupov, the director of the Census Bureau. Mr Yusupov, quoting 1979 census figures, indicated that the population of the USSR has reached 262,442,000, an increase of 21 percent over the corresponding figure for 1970. He pointed further that the effects of World War II on Soviet society were still visible as demonstrated by the fact that females outnumbered males by 17.6 million. (The Soviets lost 20 million people during the war.)

In the same article Yusupov indicated that while Russia's population increased by 6 percent from 1970 to 1979, the Muslims of Tajikstan increased by 31 percent, those of Uzbeckstan increased by 30 percent, and those of Turkomonia increased by 28 percent. Based on these figures, according to Yusupov, the Muslim population of the USSR increased at 5 times the rate of the Russian population.

Yusupov added that capitalist, Western propaganda claims that this increase troubles Moscow and the Soviet leaders. He characterized the propaganda as a deliberate lie and, in support of his disclaimer, quoted from an interview given by Mr Brezhnev in 1977 to LE MONDE. In that interview Mr Brezhnev reportedly claimed that "the phenomenon [high birth rate] pleased rather than troubled the leaders of the Soviet Union; and that it reflected the economic progress and rising standard of living acheived under Communist rule in what was once a remote part of Czarist Russia."

From this, it would appear that the abnormal rate of increase of the Muslim population is an accepted fact of life in the Soviet Union, as well as in the official circles of government. Yet, the phenomenon is difficult to overlook

especially in view of the fact that [Muslim] families with up to 15 or 20 children are not uncommon. The Deputy President of the Tashkent Religious Administration, 'Abdallah 'Abd al-Ghani, told me of families of 25 members, father, mother and 23 children. He stressed that, since polygomy is illegal in the USSR, the 23 children are parented by the same couple. One of his friends by the name of Mirzat 'Ata, 73 years old and living in the Sardaria region of Uzbekstan, he informed me, had 13 boys and 7 girls by the same wife. Karim, the gardener at the Religious Administration, told me how thankful he was for being blessed with 17 children.

In an effort to encourage Russians to have children, Soviet law prescribes a monetary award for any family with more than 4 children. Families with 10 or more childern have additional privileges, such as free use of public transportation. Muslims, however, reap the greatest benefits of the law. According to Judge 'Abdallah Jon Jalanov, a representative of the Tajikistan Religious Administration (with a jurisdiction of 3 million people), 15,000 women in that republic benefit from the privileges accorded to mothers of 10 or more children. He added that they [Tajikistan Muslims] increase by 500,000 per year, that is, by 50 percent every 10 years.

The situation is not limited to a conspicuously high Muslim birth rate and a correspondingly low Russian one. Another factor occupying the attention of Soviet sociologists is the disruption of Russian family life. In particular, the media constantly blame alcoholism as a major cause of troubled family life. The divorce rate for Russian families is around 30 percent, the same as in Europe and America. One consequence of this phenomenon is that the average size of the Russian family is 3, compared to 12 or 15 for the Muslim one.

Opinions on this matter vary. The official Soviet line is that the development is a healthy one; at least this is implicit in the Brezhnev interview quoted earlier. Non-Soviets, however, have a different view. Western publications interpret the phenomenon as an expression of resistance against the ruling Russian element and to Russian expansion into Muslim territory. They liken the situation to the increasing number of Palestinains, claiming that the phenomenon may be the Palestinians' practical, or possibly unconscious, way of foiling attempts to eliminate them. The hope of returning to Palestine, they say, remains alive as long as the Palestinians continue to multiply. Non-Soviet publications are also careful to point out that Muslims have a preference for large families, which, they view, as a response to the prophet's call to "multiply, for I [Muhammad] shall be proud to compare your number with other nations on the day of resurrection."

The same publications add that pastoral societies--as most Central Asian societies are--have traditionally prized large families as an economic asset. Caring for thousands of sheep requires many hands, and thus a family's prosperity and position in society are tied to the number of children in the family.

I asked a young student of the Institute for Religious Studies at Buchara--he was the youngest in a family of 14 children--how he explained the large size of Muslim families. He thought for a while then responded in Arabic: "It is our way of fighting the enemies of Islam." His Arabic failed him beyond this point and he could say no more.

There is another facet to Muslim society in the Soviet Union. Most Muslims are Sunnis of the Hanafi sect. They are concentrated in Uzbekstan where the Muslim population is densest, as well as in Siberia. The Imam Abu Hanifa al-Numan, after whom the sect is named, is believed to be of Central Asian ancestry. Most of the leaders of the sect are also believed to have descended from the same region.

Adherents of the Shafi'i sect form the second largest group of Sunni Muslims. The majority of these is found in the Caucasian regions of the republics of Daghestan and (Shashania).

The next group of Muslims are Shiites of the Ja'afari Sect. This group is concentrated in Azerbaijan. Because the Muslims of Azerbaijan are half Sunni and half Shiite, it was agreed that the President of the Religious Administration, who carries the title "Shaykh al-Islam" would be Shiite, and his deputy who carries the title "Mufti [judge] al-Islam" would be Sunni.

Another group of Shiites belongs to the Ismaili sect. This group, which does not exceed 500,000 people, lives at the outer periphery of the republic of Tajikistan, near the Pamir mountains.

Just as there are many sects, there are many religious "ways" or practices. It was a surprise--to me at least--to discover that Sufist practices still existed in the Soviet Union. The scope of these practices, however, has been restricted to recollection sessions, memorizing sessions [in which the assembled repeat certain prayer phrases over and over in order to memorize them], and listening to moralistic tales of past Muslim leaders. I was led to this discovery by Mufti Dia 'al-Din Baba Khan while we were reviewing the names of prominent spiritual leaders who descended from Central Asia. I had remarked to my host that Soviet publications tended to ignore Muslim theologians and Islamic law experts and to concentrate instead on those who had contributed to medicine, astronomy, mathematics, and chemistry, such as al-Farabi, ibn Sina, al-Khowarizmi, and al-Faraghani. Religious experts are referred to as philosophers, thinkers or historians. In response to my remark, Mufti Dia al-Din noted that the Religious Administration had celebrated the 1200 anniversary of the birth of Imam al-Bukhari two years earlier. He went on to name other prominent religious experts including al-Tarmathi, Yacub al-Sharji, Qifal al-Shashi, and al-Naqshabandi. When I inquired further about al-Naqshabandi and his Sufist way Mufti Dia al-Din responded enthusiastically in Arabic: "He is our revered Shaykh, Muhammad Baha' al-Din al-Naqshabandi, born in the village of Qasr 'Arfan near Bukhara when that town was in its golden age and a center for scientists nad religious experts." He added that the late man was a prominent religious expert and a skilled craftsman. His choice of the words "Naqsha Bandi" to describe his Sufist way was related

to the handicraft of embroidering atlases with silk." When I asked whether al-Naqshabandi had any adherents the Mufti answered with greater enthusiasm: "Yes, yes. The Naqshabandi way is alive and has thousands of adherents in Bukhara, Khuwarism, (Naminjan) and (Wadi Farghana) (Uzbekstan). It is the most popular Sufist practice in Central Asia."

Surprised by his reference to the Naqshabandi way as "the most popular," I asked whether there were other ways. He answered: "Yes, there are the Shazli way, popular alongside the Naqshabandi way in Daghistan, and the Qadiri way, popular in the republic of Shashania in the northern part of Caucasia." He added that both ways have been purged of unorthodox practices and act to purify the souls of the faithful and strengthen their links to God.

When I asked him what he meant by unorthodox practices he mentioned attachment to spending time at gravesides, seeking the intercession of deceased holy men, and other daily practices that are discouraged by religious leaders. He added that the Naqshabandi way has been a foremost opponent of the unorthodox practices.

One of the people listening to our conservation noted my puzzlement. He leaned over and whispered in my ear: "It seems that you don't know that Mufti Ishan Baba Khan, the father of Mufti Dia al-Din, was one of the major proponents of the Naqshabandi way and that the Mufti himself [Dia al-Din] is an adherent of that way." He added that Mufti Dia'al-Din, however,was not singlehandedly devoted to the way because of his other occupations.

The great majority of these Muslims are concentrated in Central Asia in a huge stretch of territory or, as geographers would say, in a basin more than 140 kilometers in diameter and covering an area in excess of 1,000,000 square kilometers. This basin consists of an old solid base surrounded by a chain of plateaus and high mountains. In addition to the Caspian Sea, it is bounded by the imposing and famous mountains of Central Asia: the Hindu Kush, the Pamirs, the Urals, and the Caucacsus. The basin is crisscrossed with numerous rivers fed by the year-long flow of melted snow from these mountains. The rivers empty in Balkhash Lake, the Aral and Caspian Seas.

This huge territory with its unique geography contains the greatest natural resources of the Soviet Union. The Muslim territory is thus not only large in extent but in natural resources.

According to Soviet statistics, the Islamic republics produce 70 percent of the USSR's cotton, 70 percent of its fruits, and 80 percent of its furs. The coal mines of Khazkhistan produce 8 times as much coal as England, Italy, and Greece combined. The iron mines of that same republic produce more than the combined output of West Germany, Italy, and Japan.

The Soviet Union continues to depend mainly on crude oil produced in the Islamic republics of Azerbijian and Tataria. The latter produced 100 million tons of crude oil in 1970.

The numerous industries established by the Soviet authorities in the Muslim territory have transformed the region and transported it not only from one generation to the next but from one century to the next. Commenting on this transformation, a Muslim had this to say:

"While the Soviets did many things we do not like, we cannot in fairness ignore the fact that they are responsible for this huge industrial transformation. We are constantly reminded of the importance of our industrial development when we look across the border on our neighbors in Afghanistan and Iran. Without Soviet aid we would still be fighting illiteracy, poverty, and hunger."

Although Soviet Muslims and their territory are a matter of concern [to the Islamic world], another facet of their life, a hidden facet, is even of greater concern. We are referring to the propaganda and other means of discouraging the Islamic religion. There is much to be learned here, but the topic must be approached with care and caution. I have attempted to investigate this sensitive area carefully and without arousing suspicion.

My first question was: What is the nature of relations between the government and the Muslims, and what is the government's position with respect to religious freedom? The response to my question was the same: There is no connection between government and religion or those who practice religion. We perform our religious observances in complete freedom as guaranteed by our laws and constitution. That response was given to me by Mufti Dia' al-Din, the many imams [spiritual leaders in charge of mosques] I met, and my guide, who repeated it on every occasion. The same message was reiterated in all the Soviet publications that I read. Every page of the book THE MUSLIMS IN THE SOVIET UNION, which is distributed to all Arab and Muslim guests, emphasized that point. The positiveness and unanimity of the response to my question not only smelled of propaganda, but my skepticism was heightened by my knowledge that the kind of religious freedom my guests told me of did not even exist in most of the Muslim countries themselves.

When I nearly gave up hope of getting an objective answer, I decided to use a different approach. I went directly to Soviet sources and documents. These, I thought, would shed some light on the government's relations with its Muslim population beginning with the October [Communist] Revolution.

I found some early writings by Lenin--the leader and founder--in which he critizes religious discrimination in Czarist Russia. I Quote:

"These laws prohibit the open practice or spread of this or that religion; or they deny certain rights to the adherents of some religions. These laws are most unjust and shameful. Every person must have total freedom to embrace, change or spread the religion of his choice(1)."

Lenin's position was an ideal one, satisfactory to all reasonable people of all faiths.

Less than one month after the October Revolution, on 20 November, 1917, the Soviet Government, headed by Lenin, made its famous call to the Muslim workers of Russia and the East. We quote:

"The Soviet Government stands alongside the Muslim workers. [It condemns] the religious persecution they suffered under the Czars, a persecution that ranged from contempt to the Islamic faith and customs to the destruction of mosques and places of worship... Henceforth it is the official policy of this government that you [the Muslims] shall be free and safe in the practice of your religion and customs. Your cultural and religious institutions shall be free and immune. Organize your lives freely without hindrance or obstruction. You have the right to do that(2)."

Whether the preceding proclamation was dictated by the exigencies of the moment, or it represented the actual ideals and hopes of the revolution in its earl, stages, it was a good and encouraging policy with respect to the Muslims.

During the first year of the revolution, Lenin attempted to be appreciative of and sensitive to Muslim feelings. He ordered that the Koran used by the caliph 'Uthman--a valuable and historic book--be returned to the Muslims. (Legend has it that some of the pages of the book are splattered with the [assassinated] caliph's blood. The book had originally been confiscated by one of the czar's generals from a Samarqand mosque and transferred in 1869 to the Czar's residence in Petersburg. The incident took place during the occupation of Turkistan by Russia. (The general reportedly paid 100 rubles for it!)

Whether Lenin acted on his own initiative or in response to an appeal by the prominent Muslim businessman Ahmad Bey Salihuf--as reported at the time by the press--the gesture was a good one. This state of affiars, however, did not last for long. The good spirit engendered by the revolution was not reflected in the government's or party's relations with the Muslims. When the Soviet constitution came out in 1921, Article 52 stipulated the following:

"Every Soviet citizen shall have the right to adhere to the religion of his choice or to adhere to no religion at all."

Later on in the same article--and this is the more important part--the constitution stipulates that the right to worship and perform religious observances according to one's beliefs as well as the right to advocate atheism shall be guaranteed. The article goes on to prohibit the use of religion as an instrument to foster enmity and hate, and concludes by proclaiming the separation of church and state as well as of schools and the church.

The only new element in this article, which is still in effect, is that the constitution guarantees the right to worship and to practice one's religious observances, while simultaneously guaranteeing the right to advocate atheism. In summary, the constitution permits the advocacy of atheism but denies the advocacy of religion.

More specifically, the beneficiary of the right to advocate atheism is the ruling party itself, which controls the government, the media, the cultural and scientific institutions the army, the navy and the country's financial resources. The other party, the Muslims in our case, are helpless before this powerful array. They are only free to worship as they please but may not expand their activity beyond this humble framework.

In reality, therefore, the atheists have greater freedom than the adherents of religion. While the atheists have total freedom of action, the adherents of religion have only their faith and doctrines. Furthermore, the constitutional association of religion with the fostering of enmity and hatred represents an implicit assertion that the advocacy of religion creates enmity and hatred.

Lenin's condemnation of religious discrimination under the czars and his call to give each individual the right to embrace and to advocate the religion of his choice were thus contradicted by the constitution. The new picture becomes even clearer when one views Article 52 of the constitution in relation to Article 25 which states that "the primary objectives of education and vocational or professional training are to promote the principles of Communism and to advance the educational and physical well-being of youth." Together, the two articles mean; the church is separate from the state; the school is separate from the church; the school belongs to the state; and, finally, the goal of education is to serve the interests of Communism.

In line with the new constitution, the following measures were taken: the use of Islamic religious law as a basis for settling disputes [among Muslims] was suspended, Islamic schools were closed, and religious trusts were confiscated. These measures were a logical outcome of the policy of separation of church and state. Kamal Ataturk had adopted a series of similar measures when he abolished the Islamic caliphate system in Turkey.

Relations between the state and the Muslim community continued to deteriorate, particularly in the Stalin era. Evidence to this effect may be found in non-Soviet publications. These publications, however, are not entirely free of exaggerations. By way of example, the U.S. News, reporting on a study presented to Congress in 1958, claimed that, according to the study one out of every three Muslim farmers died when the Cossack region was collectivised in the 30s. The article went on to claim that more than 500,000 educated Muslims, including law experts and scientists, were either executed or immigrated.

According to another story receiving wide publicity in non-Soviet publications, the number of mosques was reduced from 24,000--pre-Communist Revolution figure--to 1200 in 1960, and ultimately to the present 300.

Soviet publications give no details of what happened to the Muslims during that period. The book THE MUSLIMS OF THE SOVIET UNION (3), however, provides some information. In a chapter entitled "Religion under Soviet Law," the author states on page 60:

"In the earlier years of building the socialist structure, particularly during the formative stage of the Soviet Government, there were some isolated incidents against the Muslim community. These offenses were committed by certain local leaders or government representatives. The errors were rectified quickly, however, and those responsible were subjected to criminal prosecution."

In another chapter entitled "Facts Only," the author states on page 70:

"In the early 20s certain local, leftist authorities attempted to promote atheism in a vulgar and insulting fashion, but the perpetrators were dealt with decisively and severely by the Soviet Government."

Whether we accept the Soviet references to these incidents at face value or assume that they have been most likely played down for understandable reasons, the fact remains that the Muslims lived through a difficult stage at best during the 20s and 30s. It is also a fact that the hopes and aspirations of the "Muslim workers of the East" fizzled one after another.

As a result of the "beneficial evil" of the Second World War, the 40's brought a limited measure of relief. In her book, THE EXPLODING EMPIRE, the French writer and Soviet affairs expert Helene (Carre Dankus) relates that the war broke out while Stalin was engaged in a campaign of repression against the Muslims. In the face of rising nationalism and anti-Soviet sentiment among the Muslims in Central Asia, Stalin had gone as far as abolishing the use of the Arabic alphabet in the Muslim community. The German invasion of Soviet territory, coupled with a campaign to win the support of the various ethnic groups under Russian rule, convinced Stalin that continued repression against the Muslims could lead to negative results in the long range. This change in policy was made all the more necessary in view of the German plan to restore independence to the non-Russian republics of the Soviet Union. The Germans did manage to implement a part of their plan by creating an independent state headed by Muslims in Caucasia, and a second one in Karatchai headed by the Muslim leader Judge Abarhimov, or Abrahimov. The Germans, however, could not proceed with their plan as the balance of war began to tip against them.

Another factor that contributed to Stalin's change of policy was the relocation of Soviet ammunition factories and other war industries to Muslim territory during the war years. The outcome of this turn around was that some mosques were reopened, certain restrictions were removed, and anti-Muslim propaganda toned down.

The years following the war brought additional advantages to the Muslim community. In 1946 the Soviet Government established the Office of Religious Affairs for the Muslims of Central Asia, and, in the same year, permitted the reopening of the "Mir Arab"school in Buchari for teaching the Islamic religion.

According to non-Soviet publications repression against the Muslims was renewed during the Kruschev era in the 60s but the situation has improved to what it is today.

We turn here to look into the effects of repression upon the Muslim community. To begin with, religious practices were confined to the mosque and the home. Islam as a way of life became identified with the performance of a set of religious practices. That, an any rate, was the official understanding of Islam as a religion from a constitutional standpoint.

This new concept of Islam was described by Judge Shakir Khayyal al-Daynuf, the Mufti of European Russia and Siberia. In an article which appeared in ISLAM IN THE SOVIET UNION, the judge says:

"We perform our religious observances without any [official] hinderances. Imams are often invited to homes to preside at religious observances marking births and to perform wedding ceremonies. Muslims are free to circumcise their children. In many cities, including Moscow, Muslims have their own cemeteries."

In the same vein, the authors of the book THE MUSLIMS IN THE SOVIET EAST, claim that Muslims are free to train religious leaders, print religious books, and make items used in religious ceremonies, etc. Muslim organizations are permitted the use of mosques without charge for daily worship. Muslims celebrate the feasts of al-Adha and Ramadan and the prophet's [Muhammad] birthday(4).

Religious observances that fall outside the constitutional understanding of Islam are exploited to further the Soviet line. In a book by the same title as the one just cited--an inadvertent error-- 'Abdallah Wahayuze reiterates the same theme. He mentions, for example, that the Muslims took part in the debate over the new constitution, and that Haj Atajan 'Abd al-Layif, the Imam in charge of the Talhatan Baba mosque in (Turkmen), in a public meeting, exhorted the Muslims to support the constitution. The imam reportedly praised the document as insuring the freedom and rights of all ethnic groups in the Soviet Union, and characterized it as having much in common with the Koran and the teachings of Muhammad. According to the author, the imam pledged total support for the new constitution.

In the same book, 'Abd al-Layif reproduces the text of a sermon given by Shaykh Ahmad Qadri 'Aziz Hajayif at the Makhdum Ishan mosque in the Uzbek city of Namangan. The sermon, given on the feast of al-Adha [major Muslim holiday], includes the following remarks:

"As we celebrate this great feast today, we take note of the good condition of the Muslim community. Our republic (Uzbekstan) has completed its 5-year economic and cultural developed plan ahead of schedule. Industrial production has risen by 51 percent. More than 500,000 hectares of land have been reclaimed. Our farmers have given the nation more than 5 million tons of white gold [?wheat]. The Soviet people have prospered and advanced materially. We thank God for all this. We worship Him and praise His name. We share the joy of the world over the successful conclusion of the Helsinki Agreement in which 35 nations pledged to secure peace in Western Europe. We pray that friendship and cooperation will spread to our Asian continent."

That was how Muslims began the feast of al-Adha. That was also the spirit that permeated the religious judicial proclamations. Not only did these proclamations improve the atmosphere and free Islam from some of its misconceptions, but they did contain some positive elements.

In the book THE MUSLIMS OF THE SOVIET EAST, the authors report that Mufti Dia al-Din Baba Khan once issued a religious judicial decision regarding the use of veils by women. In that detailed decision, according to the authors, the Mufti denies that either the Koran or other holy books contain any direct reference to the veiling of women. The Mufti called on women to give up the veil which, in his words, restricted their physical freedom. In a second religious judicial decision, the mufti reportedly insisted that it was not necessary to kill animals on the feast of al-Adha.

Writing in THE MUSLIMS OF THE SOVIET UNION, the president of the Islamic Administration for North Caucasia, Mufti Muhammad Haj Karbanov describes the Muslim customs associated with the birth, naming, and circumcision of children as well as wedding ceremonies and other religious feasts. According to the Mufti, these customs are preserved in the Muslim community. He then turns to discuss the custom of revenge, which is not only widespread in the mountainous regions of Caucasia, but is viewed as a religious tradition. Attributing the custom to the economic disparity between rich and poor, the Mufti claims that the distribution of land to the working class and the establishment of Soviet laws to prevent exploitation have put an end to that tradition.

Speaking in his capacity as a religious judge, the Mufti turns his attention to the custom of "mohr" [dowry]. "In earlier days," the judge writes, "the custom was justified as a means of insuring the economic security of newly-wed couples. As time went on, however, it became a burdensome obligation, particularly to the poor, and contrary to the spirit of Islam."

According to the Mufti, the payment of mahr, which was intended by the prophet as a means of "bringing happiness to people," has been distorted and misused. He adds that the improved economic condition of Soviet Muslims has lessened the need for dowry payments, and that the custom has nearly disappeared. Instead of dowry, the parents and relatives of the prospective couple bring gifts to the wedding ceremony. Social organizations, communes, and employers of the couple also often give gifts to the newly-weds.

Writing in the same book, Shaykh al-Islam 'Ali Agha Sulayman Zada, president of the Islamic Administration of Transcaucasia (who represents the Shiite Muslims) says: "In recent decades, there have been some changes in the manner in which the feast of Ashura' is commemorated during the three mourning days in the month of Muharram. [The day commemorating the death of al-Husayn, the prophet's grandson.] Shiite religious leaders in Azerbijian have called upon the faithful to refrain from acts of physical self-punishments. These acts, according to the Shiite leaders are contrary to the Sharia [Islamic law], and a great sin against God."

Mufti'Ali Agha goes on to say that "changing the traditional way in which Ashura' is commemorated in no way detracts from the solemnity of the day; on the contrary, [relief from physical torture] puts the faithful in a better psychological frame of mind to pray and recollect."

We gather from all this that religious practices which do not conflict with the "official line" are freely permitted. What we cannot ignore, however, is that all religious practices, traditions, and observances have been reduced to ceremonial occasions. These occasions are marked by readings from the Koran, relating stories from the prophet's life, sermons, and great festivities for families and relatives. It is reasonable to explain this as the Muslim community's way of adhering to its traditions and preserving its identity, a kind of subconscious resistance to the intellectual, political and other currents that surround it. Herein we may also find a reason for the many religious celebrations in Muslim families: one to mark the birth of a child, a second when the child is named, and a third one when the child is circumcised. These are all major festivities, attended by an imam, with readings from the Koran and a sermon. A family celebrating the circumcision of a child receives guests for two full days during which time the Koran is read in its entirety. On the third day, following a sermon and a banquet, the child is circumcised. Circumcision celebrations are so elaborate as to resemble official Islamic feastdays.

The prophet's birthday is celebrated with particular gusto. The day begins with religious celebrations in the mosques. The festivities then move to the homes where the Koran is recited again and sermons are given. The day is capped with festive banquets. The Muslims of Dagestan, (Tataria), Bashkiria, and (Idmortia) celebrate the occasion for a full month.

Wedding ceremonies are primarily religious celebrations. After the requirements of civil law--recording the marriage--are fulfilled, the prospective couple and their families go to the mosque for prayers and a sermon. The religious ceremony is performed three days later. The ceremony is highlighted by readings from the Koran and a sermon. This is followed by a banquet to which relatives and friends are invited. The cost of the banquet is shared by all those present.

When a man reaches the age of 63 [the number of years the prophet lived], another celebration complete with readings from the Koran, a sermon and a banquet, is held.

The pilgrimage [to Mecca] is another story. The names of those awarded the privilege to make the pilgrimage [presumably by the authorities] are announced after Friday prayers. (The number ranges from 25-30 per year. The pilgrims travel to Moscow, accompanied by relatives and friends, where they are met and bid farewell by religious leaders bedecked in colorful garments. When they return they are welcomed with celebrations and banquets. The pilgrims bring back gifts to their friends and relatives, including prayer rugs, (Most good prayer rugs are made in West Germany!!), strings of beads and small quantities of water from Zamzam well. [This is the site where Hagar, the wife of Abraham and mother of Ismai'l, found water in the desert.] The gifts are highly prized.

The greatest occasions are, of course, the feast of al-Adha and the feast of Ramadan [the month of fasting]. Men and women flock to mosques on the feast of al-Adha. Sheep are frequently sacrificed in the vicinity of mosques on this day. Families celebrate with banquets, readings from the Koran and prayers.

As is customary among Muslims, funerals are highlighted by readings from the Koran. I was surprised to learn from religious leaders that at least 90 percent of Muslim communists direct in their last will that the Koran be recited at their funerals. Among these were a minister in the government of Uzbekstan--a prominent party member--and a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party.

While visiting a cemetery adjacent to a mosque where we had stopped for prayer in Dushambe, the capital of Tadzhik, I was surprised that graves had special markings. The graves of Muslims are marked with crescents, those of Christians with crosses, and those of the Communist Party members with red stars.

One cannot escape the observation, however, that, to a large number of Muslims, religion has deteriorated into a set of rituals and customs unrelated to the faith as such. The word "Muslim," to many, has become merely a tag, such as words like Uzbek, Tadzhiki, and Kirghizi by which various ethnic groups are identified. Because of this, it is not uncommon to meet a person who claims to be atheist and Muslim at one and the same time. To some people, the curious combination seems perfectly consistent. It is not uncommon, for example, to meet a man at a cafe who, after consuming a bottle of Russian Vodka, wipes his face with his hands and says "Amen." [The Islamic religion forbids the consumption of alcohol.] This phenomenon is more widespread among the younger generations, and is the result of an educational system that, by law, is based on atheism. Atheism is an integral component of the educational curriculum from kindergarten through university. University students not only study the history of the Communist Party in depth, they must take a special course on atheism. Having been in force for 60 years, such an educational system, supported by the power of the media, is bound to produce fundamental intellectual and psychological changes in Muslim youth. That it succeeded in this respect is an undeniable fact.

The Communist educational system is not the only factor at work. The inducements and privileges given to students who join the party are another. Members of Komsomol, the Communist Youth Organization, are given priority in admission to universities and other educational institutions. They also receive preferential treatment when applying for top government positions. Non-member university students are not only denied participation in student activities and organizations, but the best they can hope for after graduation are ordinary, lower echelon jobs.

It is not surprising therefore that those who frequent mosques are usually the old and the retired, quite often veterans of the Ottoman Empire Army.

Alongside those for whom religion has become a set of customs and traditions, as well as those who have abandoned the faith, even though temporarily, there is another class of Muslims made up of those whose faith never wavered. These are the ones who truly epitomize what the prophet once described as "those who patiently hold the live coals without flinching." These are the ones who send their children to the Uzbeck town of Namangan to study the Koran and learn about their religion. They are the ones who dedicate themselves to the proposition that at least the noble Koran shall remain alive on their lips and in their minds, that its message shall not be restricted to the older families fortunate enough to possess hand-written copies of the holy book. They are the ones who, after their children finish elementary school, send them to the Buchari religious school for 7 additional years to be followed by 4 more years at the Tashkent Institute. Upon graduation their children become preachers, orators and Koranic reciters. They are the patient ones who wonder why despite the presence of 40 million Muslims in the USSR only two 100-student religious schools exist. They are the ones who finance all religious activities without help from the state despite the fact that the state has confiscated the religious trusts from which funding for these activities has originally derived.

Their contributions to mosques, offered as a form of tithing [dictated by religion and not as a form of charity] are disbursed in 5 ways: Mosque expenses, including maintenance and salary for the imam, salaries and cost of running the Religious Administration, including the cost of the two religious schools and allowances to their students; defraying the cost of religious conferences attended by Soviet Muslims outside the country; a payment to the state to help defray the cost of preserving historical ruins; a payment to the state to be added to the fund allocated to the preservation of world peace and security.

They are the ones who have brought forth a splendid generation of youth, a generation that has managed to turn a deaf ear to the world around it and to concentrate on its religion. They are the ones who, despite their small number, have spoken up against the manner in which Islam and its leaders have been used, the ones who are dedicated to understanding true Islam. They are the ones who vie with each other over reading the only copy of the book LANDMARKS ALONG THE WAY, viewed by many as the charter of those who advocate an activist, insurrectionist Islam, the same book that was anathema to some Arab governments in the 60s and whose reading subjected one to the charge of suspicious activity. No one knows how the book got to the library of the Religious Administration in Tashkent. I was also surprised to hear young Muslims discussing the book SHUBHATUN HAWLA AL-ISLAM [Ambiguities Surrounding Islam]. They wanted to know whether the author Muhammad Qutb was the son or brother of Sayyid Qutb.

While discussing the students of religion at the Bukhara and Tashkent schools, I was told in whispers that they insist on continuing their education despite the fact that they are assessed a special tax, referred to as a "naloj" or "nalog" locally, meaning "penalty" in Russian. The penalty is equivalent to two month's salary. The reason for this special tax according to the person

who related this to me, and whose name cannot be revealed at his request, is that every Soviet citizen is expected to do some productive work in return for the free schooling, medicine, and nominal rent he pays. Since those who pursue religion as a profession as preachers or students are classified as non-productive workers, they are expected to compensate the state for the benefits they receive.

Consistent with this policy, mosques must pay more for electricity and water than homes, industrial and governmental establishments. The latter, viewed as productive components of society, are charged extremely reduced rates. Mosques, on the other hand, are classified as non-productive. Consequently, they pay 5 times as much as industry for water and electricity and 2 and one-half times as much as homes and government buildings.

I attempted to confirm the first bit of information [regarding the naloj]. Mufti Dia al-Din Baba Khan told me that the naloh was in effect up to the last 2 years. When mosque preachers threatened to strike if the naloj were not abolished, he, the Mufti, interceded with the government on the grounds that the special tax was unjust and constituted an insult to spiritual leaders. His intercession, according to him, resulted in the abolishment of the naloj.

The Mufti's deputy, Shaykh 'Abdallah al-Ghani, had a different view of the naloj. According to him, the naloj was not a penalty but a form of social security tax paid by all people, including the clergy. This tax, he added, was returned to the citizen as a retirement benefit.

Judge 'Abdallah Jan who represents the Religious Administration of Tajikstan had yet a different story about the naloj. According to him, the naloj was not only still in effect but he agreed with the government's rationale for it.

While all three of these people denied that mosques pay special rates for electricity and water, a mosque preacher assured me that he indeed pays a higher rate than other institutions. He also insisted that he pays the naloj regularly.

Since I was unable to get the truth on these points, I preferred relating to the reader the various viewpoints expressed to me by many quarters as an example of the "grey" areas that are yet to be investigated. Many aspects of the life of Soviet Muslims remain ambiguous and unexplored, and it is not easy to get the answers.

One major question remains: What is the attitude [of the Soviet Government] toward Muslims? I should first like to remind the reader that I did not see the full picture; neither did I go beyond what was permitted me except in a very few cases, which caused me many troubles. My guide kept so close to me that, at times, he seemed to be glued to me day and night. (I have fears that he will even glue himself to my posterity.) My answer to the question is this: There is an official government line determined clearly by the constitution. That line is still being adhered to. Purely as a religion, as a mode of worship, Islam is welcome. Islamic traditions from

ceremonies marking the name of a child to circumcision to placing crescents on the graves of Muslims are acceptable. Even advocating religion in the context of a "sermon" at weddings or holy days is tolerated. This relative relaxation extends to the building of mosques. Ten new mosques, I was told, were built in 1979. I saw one of them in Baku, the capital of Azerbaijan.

In a very brief summary, there is no objection to what we would call a pliable, peaceful Islam. Excluding an active advocacy, missionizing, is not this the kind of Islam permitted in most Muslim countries? Do you not think that we ought to ponder this point more sincerely and candidly?

Notes:

(1) Lenin: TO THE POOR PEASANTS (Arabic translation).

(2) PROTOCOLS OF THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT, Vol 1.

(3) Published by the International Relations Section of the Union of Islamic Organizations, Moscow.

(4) Published by the Uzbek Society for Friendship and Cooperation with Foreign Countries.

9063
CSO: 8004/1375

REGIONAL

BAPTISTS PERSECUTED IN KIRGHIZESTAN

Frunze SOVETSKAYA KIRGIZIYA in Russian 15 Jun 80 p 2

[Article by N. Teplov: "Beneath a Slate Shrine"]

[Text] That Sunday morning in spring was an ordinary one. A light snow was falling, and near the "Soyuzpechat'" stands people were opening up newspapers and becoming absorbed in the daily news. The nation was caught up in the ordinary measured rhythm of a life of work.

In apartment building No 216 on Pogranichnaya Ulitsye in the city of Kara-Balty, however, an illegal prayer meeting was under way. It was conducted by local resident Gennadiy Avksent'yevich Korolev.

From the outside the annex in which the meeting was taking place looked like an ordinary barn with a slanting, peaked roof and walls of slate. Inside, the roof and walls were finished with chipboard panels. The oval-vaulted ceiling had the shape of an arc, and the room contained freshly planed benches and a table.

Members of the group would assemble quietly, one by one, entering through an inconspicuous gate. Why did they do this? Why such caution? After all, no one is forbidden to practice his religious rites.

The city has an active group of adherents of the so-called Council of Evangelical Christian Baptists, which is headed by Ya. Ya. Dik. The believers openly visit their spacious house of prayer, and this in no way conflicts with our laws on religious worship.

The fact that Korolev's group, made up of so-called adherents of the Council of Churches--the Evangelical Christian Baptists--is another matter. This branch, which broke away from the Society of Evangelical Christian Baptists, consists of so-called (initsiativniki), which do not recognize the laws of the Soviet state on religion and the Church and which engage in deceitful activities designed to incite religious fanaticism in the masses. In their abominal propaganda they use slander, deception and distortion of Soviet

reality, urge believers to refuse to participate in the nation's public and political life and disseminate all sorts of illegally printed leaflets, pamphlets and postcards.

They go against the Constitution of the USSR by forcing children to copy and disseminate all sorts of slanderous fabrications and forbid them to join the Pioneers or the Komsomol, to attend movies or theaters and to read fiction or political literature.

I visited one of the meetings of Korolev's group. Of the 60 believers there, 40 were teenagers or children. Sermons were delivered by A. A. Kayzer, A. A. Buller and Ye. I. Geydebrekht, who presented the following type of agitation: Between the singing of psalms and hymns they called for a strengthening of faith in the face of atheism, spoke about the uselessness of knowledge, the harm caused by science, the eternal benefit of the teachings of Christ and the joy with which believers depart for a world of eternal bliss, and said that children should follow their parents in spiritual matters. The antihuman and antisocial essence of such sermons is completely obvious.

I recall a talk we had with A. A. Korolev in the fall. We asked him:

"How do you differ spiritually from Dik's society? What prevents you, as brothers in faith, from attending the same house of prayer and conducting your meetings in conformity with Soviet laws"?

He was evasive.

"There is nothing to keep us from it. It is simply too crowded there."

The city community is especially concerned about the dissenters' unlawful involvement of children and teenagers in the prayer meetings. Nina Filippovna Chingina, head of the Kara-Balty Secondary School imeni Shopokov, and Nadezhda Petrovna Pogorelova, director of the Alekseyevka Secondary School, speak with distress about the double life which their students, the children of preachers in Korolev's group V. R. Freze, A. A. Kayzer Ye. I. Geydebrekht and A. A. Buller are forced to live and about how this is affecting their personalities. As a rule, the double life teaches them to be deceitful and cunning, and deprives them of the friendship of the other children and of their respect, which causes them considerable suffering.

"When Andryusha Freze entered the first grade," Nina Filippovna says, "he was tremendously happy to become a Little Octobrist. He is a very good boy. However, his mother came to school and told us that her son no longer wanted to wear the little star and forbade him to participate in school games and activities or to have friends among the children of nonbelievers. This has been very hard on Andryusha, and he is afraid of being punished but he still wears the little star at school. The same thing happened to

second-grader Edik Freze and to that family's third son. It is just as hard for the others. Korolev's son Viktor, a 10th-grader who attends prayer meetings, misbehaves in school, smokes, is impolite and does not want to learn. I also feel sorry for the girls, like Lena Kayzer. They are quiet girls, forever depressed and lacking the normal youthful joy and spontaneity."

In one talk with G. A. Korolev, I. I. Valezhnyy, secretary of the party organization for a mobile mechanized column of the "Chuvzavodstroy," told him: "We do not intend to make an atheist of you, Gennadiy Avksent'yevich. I would like to ask you, though, why you are bringing your children up to have no love for the homeland."

Korolev pointed his finger at the sky.

"My homeland is up there."

However, while they preach their dogma of the transience of life on earth and the eternal joy of heavenly life in the hereafter, Korolev and his accomplices try to snatch as much as possible in their earthly life. The following is a typical example.

One of the workers with the mobile mechanized column told us, making no attempt to disguise the sly humor:

"At one point I took a close look at Korolev's life. He was a brigade leader in our joiner's shop at that time. I asked him: 'Gennadiy Avksent'yevich, how do you manage to swing such deals on your earnings? There are eight in your family. You only earn 150 rubles a month and your wife does not work, but just look at what you have acquired: You built yourself a fine house and acquired a Zhiguli almost immediately after that. A little later you acquired 20 beehives. I don't have a large family and my wife earns fair wages, but I can't even come close to doing what you have done.' This was his answer: 'You are an atheist, while I am a preacher for the Baptists, something like a priest. God gives me everything, he said.'"

I later discovered, of course, how God helps him so cleverly. Gennadiy Avksent'yevich picks out the driest and the best wood, runs it through the woodworking machines, cuts out the parts for frames, window and door units, gates and beehives, and then trucks it all off, covered with chips.

We also had a woman named Rogova working as a foreman in the lumberyard. She built herself a house. We helped her. And Korolev helped her. He gained her confidence to the point that she would leave him in charge of her job. He took full advantage of the opportunity. He would load up a truck with lumber, fill out a false pass indicating that he was on his way to a construction site, but would "head for other parts" and sell the material.

Korolev's great capacity for latching onto everything close to him was spotted a long time ago. Even his father told him: "You are following the wrong path, Gennadiy." And it was noticed not only by his father and his comrades at work but also by investigative agencies. In 1956, Korolev was sentenced to six years of imprisonment by the people's court in the city of Prizhival'sk for the large-scale embezzlement of state property.

Gennadiy Avksent'yevich served out his sentence, down to the final bell, as they say. There, in places no so far away, he made friends among adherents of the Council of Churches of the Evangelical Christian Baptists. When he was released, the group of "initsiativniki" was engaged in a struggle with the loyalists among the Evangelical Christian Baptists, selecting their cadres on the basis of: "The worse, the better." Korolev joined them and immediately went from a former criminal right to a "saint."

11499
CSO: 1800

ANNIVERSARY OF TRANSCARPATHIAN UKRAINE-USSR UNIFICATION

Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 29 Jun 80 p 3

[Article by M. Voloshchuk, chairman of the ispolkom of the Zakarpatskaya Oblast Soviet of People's Deputies: "Verkhovina is Happiness: The Way of Life Created by October"]

[Text] I am rereading the lines written by the Dutch writer (Nyko Rostom) about my native Transcarpathia. "In the heart of Europe," he reported in the newspaper GAASBLAD in 1932, "700,000 people are doomed to death by starvation. And now, when starvation has become an everyday occurrence, groans are loudly heard from the mountains of Verkhovina. Nowhere else in the world has hunger taken such terrible forms; nowhere else is there such poverty; nowhere else is life so suppressed as in Verkhovina. Nowhere else is there so much illiteracy, so much backwardness and belief in the supernatural and in sorcery as in Verkhovina... Verkhovina is a tragedy."

It is not surprising that at that time Transcarpathia was called the land of a dying people, a land without a name, Africa in the middle of Europe. The ruling bourgeoisie practiced a chauvinist policy and transformed the territory into its own colonial appendage and a market for cheap manpower. During the 1930's industry comprised only 2.2 percent of the structure of the Transcarpathian economy. Four-fifths of the population were employed in agriculture. But 90 percent of it remained landless and land-hungry. The timber resources were being rapaciously destroyed.

The workers of the territory knew who was responsible for their plight. They lead an unceasing struggle against foreign and their "own" oppressors for social and national liberation and reunification with their fraternal peoples in the East. After the victory of the Great October Revolution in Russia, supported by class solidarity and the workers of the Soviet Union and by the proletariat of Hungary, Czechoslovakia and other countries, this struggle in Transcarpathia was led by communists--ardent propagandists of leninist ideas who performed great organizational work among the masses. Neither the regression of the bourgeois Czechoslovakian government

nor the terror unleashed by the Hungarian fascist occupiers subdued them. Tens of thousands of youths and girls emigrated to the Soviet Union. Later, during the Great Patriotic War, partisans and underground antifascists helped the heroic Soviet Army perform its sacred liberation mission.

After the Soviet Army liberated our entire territory in the unforgettable autumn of 1944, the Transcarpathian workers were given a real opportunity to decide their own fate for the first time in their history. At the first congress of the People's Committees of the Transcarpathian Ukraine, which was held in November 1944, a manifesto on the reunification of the Transcarpathian Ukraine with the Soviet Union was unanimously passed. Almost the entire adult population signed this historical document.

The workers of the oblast will always remember that one of the first soldier-liberators on Transcarpathian soil was Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev, then head of the political section of the 18th Army. "The atmosphere of freedom roused the entire population of the Transcarpathian Ukraine to political activity," he later wrote in his book "Malay Zemlya [The Small Land]. "They greeted us as brother-liberators. People's Committees were created everywhere, and their first congress was prepared. Then present at the congress, I saw with what enormous enthusiasm the historic decision to reunify Transcarpathia with its own people was made." (L. I. Brezhnev, "Malaya Zemlya," Politizdat, 1978, p 47).

In Moscow on 29 November 1945 the governments of the USSR and Czechoslovakia signed the Treaty on the Secession of the Transcarpathian Ukraine from Czechoslovakia and Its Reunification with the Soviet Ukraine. This act concluded the complete reunification of the Ukrainian people in a single family of fraternal peoples.

The bloody battles with the fascists were still continuing, but goods streamed into the young oblast from Moscow, Leningrad, Kiev, Khar'kov, Tashkent and the industrial Urals. Without having had time to heal its own wounds the Soviet land sent the revitalized territory industrial equipment, farm implements, seed and mineral fertilizers. A large detachment of party, soviet, Komsomol and economic workers and specialists of different branches of the national economy were sent to Transcarpathia. They gave the party organization and all workers invaluable help in economic and cultural construction.

During 1946-1950 alone the VKP(b) [All-Union Communist Party] Central Committee enacted 4 decrees, and the KP(b)U [Communist Party of the Ukraine] 19 decrees on rendering assistance to the workers of the oblast in the development of the national economy, science, culture, health protection and public education.

While before reunification there were only several small enterprises in Transcarpathia at which heavy manual labor and merciless exploitation predominated, today more than 200 industrial enterprises in which

the worker creates all conditions for productive labor and all-around development, are operating. The (Terekhta-Rikakaya) GES [Hydroelectric Power Station], the instrument-making, mechanical and machine-building plants in Mezhgorod, the machine-tool plant imeni Kirov, the complete laboratories and the instrument-making plant in Mukachev and other plants have become the common pride. Today the industrial enterprises of the oblast oblast manufacture metal-cutting lathes with preset controls, different instruments and equipment. They are purchased in more than 30 countries of the world.

The oblast has achieved great progress during the present five year plan. In four and ½ years 23 new enterprises and shops have been built and put into operation. The volume of industrial construction increased by 37.6 (when the plan called for 33.1 percent). Nearly two-thirds of the increase was achieved by raising labor productivity. The high rates of development of industry in the mountainous regions, which in pre-Soviet times were considered regions of mass unemployment and starvation are cause for rejoicing.

The timber and woodworking industries are still among the leading branches in the oblast. Much is being done to protect and reproduce the large forests. In four years of the five year plan alone approximately 10,000 hectares of young forest were planted.

Grain-growing has also changed radically. During the last 10 years alone more than R500 million in state and collective farm allocations has been invested in the oblast's agriculture. During this period the power-worker ratio of the farms nearly doubled. The average annual rate of growth in gross production increased by 6.5 percent over the 10th Five Year Plan. The process of specialization and concentration is becoming intensified.

Last year the collective and state farms of the oblast harvested 72 centners of corn from each hectare. Eight farms, 22 mechanized parts and brigades reached the 100-centner mark. And the mechanized part of two-time Hero of Socialist Labor and USSR State Prize Laureate Yu. Yu. Fitra has been harvesting an average of 113 centners of corn for 30 years.

The names of the renowned corn specialists twice Hero of Socialist Labor A. M. Ladari and Heroes of Socialist Labor A. D. Petsa, A. A. Tkalich and others are well known far beyond the borders of the oblast.

A characteristic feature of the five year plan for our oblast is persistent and dynamic development of the economic system of all branches of the national economy without exception. The financial basis of this development is the constantly increasing amounts of state capital investments, the total of which increased by 45 percent in four years compared to the same period of the Ninth Five Year Plan.

Thatched huts without chimneys to their fire holes have forever disappeared from our land. Beautiful modern dwelling houses, new schools, palaces

of culture and other social and cultural institutions have sprung up in their places. During the 10th Five Year Plan nearly 1,400,000 square meters of housing were added in the oblast.

Health centers of union- and republic-wide importance, tourist centers and international arteries of friendship--the Mir Energy System high voltage line, the Druzhba oil pipeline and the Bratstvo and Soyuz gas pipelines--have been organically inserted into the age-old beauty of the Carpathians.

Under the influence of Soviet life a man of the new socialist type has emerged.

Irina Mikhaylovna Skuchka came to work at the Uzhgorod Veneer Furniture Combine as a 19 year old girl after graduating from vocational and technical school. In a short period of time she became one of the enterprise's best workers. Today Irina Mikhaylovna is one of the respected people in the oblast. As an excellent worker, a public-spirited woman and a sympathetic comrade, she was elected deputy to the USSR Supreme Soviet for the third time by the workers of the oblast.

The fate of the head of the Turbatsk timber station of the (Ust'-Chernyanskiy)Timber Combine, Ivan Vasil'yevich Chusa, is typical of those who began their work histories under the bourgeois system. He went into woodworking when the Latoritsa firm was operating rapaciously. The Soviet government gave him the opportunity to receive an education and become a highly skilled specialist. For distinguished successes in work he was awarded the title of Hero of Socialist Labor. And altogether 30 agricultural workers in the oblast bear the honorary title. Thousands of workers of different branches have been awarded government awards.

The example of Zakarpatskaya Oblast is graphic evidence of the profound correctness of the leninist thesis of the unprecedented flourishing of culture under socialism. The oblast now has a large detachment of members of the Union of Writers and the Union of Artists. Two professional theatres, a philharmonic, 686 clubs and palaces of culture, 746 libraries, musical and cultural-educational schools, 30 children's music schools and studies are actively functioning. Today amateur art unites 120,000 artlovers. In the three preolympic years alone 45 USSR masters of sport, 254 master's candidates and 2478 first-class athletes were trained.

Profound internationalism has become an integral part of our development. For many years the Transcarpathians have been friends with Severo-Osetinskaya ASSR and Krasnodarskiy Kray; strong ties have been established between the residents of Uzhgorod and Vladimir, Mukachevo and Dmitrov in Moscow Oblast, Volovetskiy Rayon and Velizhskiy in Smolenskaya Oblast and between the railroad workers of Chop and of the Brest station.

Soviet Transcarpathia maintains multifarious ties with the East Slovakian territory of the CSSR, Satmarskaya Oblast of the HPR [Hungarian People's

Republic] and Satu-Mareskiy District of the SRR [Socialist Republic of Rumania]. Exchanges of delegations of party and soviet workers, economic experts, artists, writers and athletes and joint meetings at the border and scientific and practical conferences have become traditional. Each year joint communist subbotniks are held during Lenin days, and in summer an exchange of combine operators takes place.

On 29 June Transcarpathia will be 35 years old. Can our young people really imagine that Verkhovina was a land of poverty and lawlessness? Not moans but happy songs resound from its mountains. For the workers of multinational Transcarpathia both the present and the future are happy.

9380
CSO: 1800

BENEFITS OF UNIFICATION OF TRANSCARPATHIA WITH SOVIET UKRAINE SURVEYED

Economic Benefits

Kiev RADYANS'KA UKRAYINA in Ukrainian 29 Jun 80 p 2

[Article by Yu. Il'nyts'kiy, first secretary of the Zakarpatskiy Obkom of the Ukrainian Communist Party: "Commemorating the 35th Anniversary of the Reunification of Transcarpathia with the Soviet Ukraine: Revitalized Region"]

[Text] Thirty-five years have passed since by the will of the workers Transcarpathia was forever reunited with mother Ukraine in a single family of fraternal Soviet peoples. During this comparatively short historical period our previously poor and dying land has been transformed into a flourishing and thoroughly developed Soviet oblast, the flag of which bears the Order of Lenin.

The path to freedom and prosperity was long and hard. Over the course of many centuries the workers of Transcarpathia fought an unflagging struggle against foreign and "their own" oppressors for social and national liberation and for reunification with their brothers in the East. This struggle acquired particularly wide scope and a qualitatively new content after the victory of the Great October Revolution when it was led by fighting men of the leninist stamp--the leaders of our region's communist organization I. Lokota, I. Mondok, M. Sydoryak, E. Klima, P. Terek, O. Borkanyuk, I. Turyanitsya and others. Neither brutal oppression and persecution by the exploiter classes nor the bloody terror unleashed by the fascist occupiers could break the Transcarpathian workers' will to fight for a successful new life.

During the black years of the fascist occupation more than 183,000 of our fellow countrymen were thrown into prisons and concentration camps and close to 115,000 of them were tortured. But the struggle continued. Thousands of Transcarpathians crossed the border into the Soviet Union, later joined the ranks of the Soviet Army and the Czechoslovakian Army Corps commanded by Gen L. Svoboda and courageously fought against the odious enemy. A considerable number of patriots reinforced partisan detachments.

and groups which operated on Transcarpathian territory.

During the unforgettable autumn of 1944 the Soviet soldier-liberators brought freedom to the Carpathians. Thanks to the great liberation mission of the heroic Soviet Army, for the first time the workers of the region were given a real opportunity to decide their own fate and their own future freely. At numerous meetings and gatherings and in letters and petitions to the Soviet government they expressed the ardent desire to become members of the great family of peoples of the land of Soviets. The first congress of the peoples' committees of the Transcarpathian Ukraine, which took place on 26 November 1944 in the city of Mukachevo, expressing the will of all the workers, unanimously approved the Manifesto on the Reunification of the Transcarpathian Ukraine with the Soviet Ukraine. In the following months the manifesto was signed by practically the entire adult population of our territory. On 29 June 1945 the Treaty on the Secession of the Transcarpathian Ukraine from Czechoslovakia and Its Reunification With the Soviet Ukraine Within the USSR was signed between the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia. Thus was concluded the reunification of the Ukrainian people into one Soviet socialist state.

The workers of our revitalized land are filled with a deep sense of gratitude to the Communist Party and the Soviet government and are proud of the fact that the liberation of Transcarpathia and its first steps along the path of socialist development are inseparably linked with the name of the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and head of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, which is dear to every Soviet person. As the head of the political section of the famous 18th Army, Leonid Il'ich was in the forefront of those who directly liberated our land from the fascist invaders and helped build the new life.

The constant concern of the party and the government and the brotherly help of all Soviet peoples gave the workers of Transcarpathia an opportunity to overcome the land's age-old backwardness in an unprecedentedly short time and to transform it into a flourishing, order-bearing oblast with developed industry, modern agriculture and progressive culture.

Before the reunification there were only a few small industrial enterprises in Transcarpathia; manual labor predominated in them. But today there are more than 250 modern industrial enterprises in operation here; at them all conditions have been created for successful work and all-around development of the members of the worker collectives. The total volume of industrial production has increased 47-fold over that of 1946. A characteristic feature of the modern industry of Transcarpathia is that machine building and instrument making are increasingly developing along with such fields traditional to us as the timber, woodworking, furniture, light and food industries. A significant fact: during the pre-Soviet period even saws, ploughs and axes were shipped to us, and now metalcutting lathes with preset controls, electronic instruments and other products of our industrial enterprises are being shipped to more than 30 countries of the world.

Radical transformations have taken place in agriculture. In the oblast regional studies museum one can see first hand the primitive equipment with which the poor peasants worked their miserable scraps of land in former times. Today powerful tractors and combines and other modern technology are at work in the fields of our collective and state farms; field crop cultivation, viticulture, gardening, animal husbandry and other fields of agricultural production are developing successfully.

Culture, science and education have developed rapidly. The Ukrainian and Russian musical and dramatic theatres, the regional philharmonic and the Honored Transcarpathian State Folk Choir of the UkSSR, a chamber orchestra, the Ugor'ski Melodiyi Variety Group and other artistic collectives; regional studies, art, ethnographical and atheistic museums and an extensive system of libraries, clubs, music schools and studios are at the workers' service.

Uzhgorod State University, which is called a contemporary of reunification and a gift of the Soviet government, is our pride. There are more than 10,000 students in its regular, evening and extramural departments. Thirty seven doctors and approximately 320 candidates of science work here; most of them are former graduates of the university. In an oblast where in former times universal illiteracy and functional illiteracy reigned, close to 90 percent of urban and 73.5 percent of rural workers now have a higher, uncompleted higher, secondary or incomplete secondary education. Literature, art and amateur artistic creativity have become an important part of our people's spiritual and daily lives. Practically every family has a television and a radio and subscribes to four-five periodicals on the average.

It would be possible to mention many other facts and examples which bear witness to the enormous socialist transformations in the oblast. But isn't the greatest achievemnt of the free Soviet life in Transcarpathia the birth and molding of a new people--an active builder of communism?

Thousands of front rank workers and industrial innovators who by their creative and selfless work have won general respect and honor have been trained in the worker collectives of the oblast. During the years of freedom more than 50,000 of our fellow countrymen have been awarded USSR prizes and medals, including 451 persons with the Order of Lenin. Yu. Pitra and G. Ladani, twice named Heroes of Socialist Labor, and Heroes of Socialist Labor I. Chusa, V. Shorban, O. Tkalych, M. Rusynko, M. Alechko, G. Petsa, M. Symkanych, M. Kozar, S. Mochkosh, A. Birov and other distinguished people of the oblast, whose work histories are inseparably linked with the socialist transformations, are the pride of our territory. Under the life-giving sun of the Soviet government a large detachment of artistic intellectuals, worthily represented by the writers I. Chendey, Yu. Meygesh, V. Vovchok, V. Ladyzhets', P. Skunts', L. Balla, actors A. Kotska, A.

Kashshay, V. Svyda, G. Glyuk, Z. Sholtes, I. Shutyev, V. Mykyta, performers K. Balog, M. Popenko and others.

The life, filled with profound content, the selfless work and brotherly friendship of the Ukrainians, Russians, Hungarians, Rumanians, Slovaks, Germans and representatives of many other nationalities who live in Transcarpathia is graphic evidence of the triumph of Lenin's policy on nationality. We are all infinitely proud of the fact that we belong to the new, historic community of peoples whose name is the Soviet people.

United around their own Communist Party, the workers of the revitalized Transcarpathia are trying to make a fitting contribution to the nationwide struggle for realization of the plans of the 25th CPSU Congress. State capital investment in the development of the oblast's economy during four years of the five year plan increased 1.4-fold over the corresponding period of the Ninth Five Year Plan. And altogether R1,117 million--as much as during this and the Eighth Five Year Plan combined--has been assimilated.

At this time 23 new enterprises and shops have been equipped and put into operation. The volume of industrial production has increased by 37.6 percent while the plan calls for 33.1 percent. Especially high increases in industrial production were secured in the mountainous regions which in former times were regions of mass unemployment and starvation. (In Vorovetskiy Rayon, for example, this increase became 93.5 percent.) Measures for the technical re-equipment of production have been implemented. During the past 4 years more than 1000 new products have been developed, 79 of them for the first time in the region. The proportion of products with the State Emblem of Quality has significantly increased and is continuing to increase.

We also have reliable achievements in agriculture, in the development of which R 352 million has been invested. The gross yield of basic agricultural crops and the production of the products of animal husbandry have increased. The oblast has fulfilled the plan for four years of the five year plan for sale to the state of most types of products of plant growing and animal husbandry. The average annual sales increased over the previous five year plan: grain by 18.4 percent; potatoes, by 34.9 percent; vegetables by 30; fruits and berries, by 23.2; the meat of large horned cattle and poultry, by 16.3; milk, by 8.9; eggs, by 37.8; wool, by 3.6 percent.

Quite a bit was done during this period for the further improvement of the welfare of the workers of the oblast. Our workers and office workers' total income has increased by 17.3 percent and that of collective farm workers, by 27.4 percent since the beginning of the five year plan. More than 28,000 families have improved their living conditions. A number of new schools totalling 30,000 places for students, and children's preschool institutions with 7,000 places have been constructed and put into operation.

The Transcarpathian workers' persistent work during the fourth year of the five year plan received a high evaluation. Our oblast was named the winner in the results of the all-union socialist competition and awarded the challenge Red Banner by the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Council of Ministers, the AUCCTU and the Komsomol Central Committee. Volovetskiy Rayon, Nove Zhyttya Collective Farm in Beregovskiy Rayon, the Collective Farm imeni Kirov in Vinogradovskiy, imeni XVI Z"yidau KP(b)U in Volovetskiy, 31 Richnytsya Zhovtnya in Perechinskiy, Pam"yat' Illicha in Svalyavskiy and Peremoga in Uzhgorodskiy Rayon and the Transcarpathian Poultry Plant imeni 50-Richchya SRSR were also among the winners of the all-union socialist competition. Vinogradovskiy Rayon was named the winner in the socialist competition between the oblasts and rayons of the UkSSR for receiving high yields in 1979 and for increasing the production of grain crops, and the oblast as a whole and Uzhgorodskiy Rayon, for raising large crops of corn.

Inspired by this high evaluation of their work, the workers of Transcarpathia are now working with redoubled energy to fulfill the plans and socialist pledges for 1980. Aspiring above all to demonstrate their boundless devotion to the party and to Lenin's great cause, many labor collectives, thousands of front rank workers and industrial innovators have spread competition for completing the goals of the 10th Five Year Plan ahead of schedule. And this has already produced considerable results. By now the goals of the five year plan as a whole or according to a number of indices have already been mastered by 103 collectives of enterprises, collective farms, state farms, organizations, 712 shops, sectors, brigades and farms and by more than 18,000 individual production workers. Seven hundred labor collectives and more than 15,000 front rank workers were awarded honorary leninist certificates for success achieved in the socialist competition in honor of the 110th anniversary of V. I. Lenin's birth.

Thus the workers of Transcarpathia are greeting the 35th anniversary of reunification in one family of fraternal Soviet peoples with good progress in the nation-wide struggle to fulfill the resolutions of the 25th CPSU Congress and the goals of the 10th Five Year Plan. These achievements are the subject of our legitimate pride.

By critically evaluating achievements, the party teaches us to direct our efforts toward overcoming existing shortcomings and toward solving urgent problems. The party, soviet and state organs and the collectives of the enterprises, construction projects, collective and state farms of the oblast are persistently searching for and introducing as yet unused reserves and working on solving the problems imposed by life.

The resolution of the June Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, at which Comrade L. I. Brezhnev spoke, provoked great political and working excitement in all Transcarpathian workers. Ardently approving the foreign and domestic policies of their own leninist party, they are making every effort to give the 26th CPSU Congress a fitting reception.

Cultural Benefits

Kiev KUL'TURA I ZHYTTYA in Ukrainian 29 Jun 80 p 2

[Article by V. Smozhanyk, director of the Zakarpatskiy Regional Studies Museum: "Flourishing"]

[Text] The period since 29 June 1945 has been a period of rapid economic, political and spiritual revitalization of the territory. Reunification brought prosperity and joy, power and glory, flourishing youth to a land whose working people had known sorrow, suffering and poverty. For the first time in the history of Transcarpathia culture has become the people's property.

An important step on the path to creating a new Soviet culture was the elimination of illiteracy, since previously close to 90 percent of men and almost all women in the territory were illiterate or functionally illiterate. The decree of the Ukrainian KP(b) [Communist Party] Central Committee of 9 October 1945 "On the Progress in the Elimination of Illiteracy and Functional Illiteracy Among the Adult Population of the Western Regions" played an important role. Schools and societies for the elimination of illiteracy were created in all villages of the oblast.

Compared with the prewar period the number of secondary schools in 1950 had increased 10-fold, and of 7-year schools, 16-fold. The school system was especially well developed in the mountainous regions where before reunification there were hardly any elementary schools.

Thus the first postwar five year plan was the beginning of the development of Soviet education in the oblast. During the next five year plan illiteracy was completely eliminated here. Now it is impossible to find a settlement in Transcarpathia without a school. Today there are 189 secondary, 299 eight-year and 211 elementary schools, 15 boarding schools, 33 schools for workers and rural youth, 13 correspondence schools with instruction in Russian, Ukrainian, Hungarian and Moldavian. There are 195,875 students in them. The number of teaching personnel here has increased more than three-fold. By the beginning of the 1979-1980 academic year 12,189 teachers were working here.

The first children's seven-year music school in the history of Transcarpathia was opened in 1945 in Uzhgorod and named in honor of the great Russian composer, P. I. Chaykovskiy. Later others like it appeared in each regional center. There are now 33 music schools in the oblast, including 4 evening schools. A considerable number of them are in rural districts. Today there are 6,577 students in music schools. They are the children of workers, collective farmers and the working intelligentsia. Eight hundred

seventy two teachers teach the children music.

In order to train highly skilled workers in all fields of the national economy in the oblast 12 secondary special education institutions were opened during the first postwar five year plan. Today more than 11,000 boys and girls are receiving a secondary special education in 15 technical schools and academies. More than 10,000 persons are receiving different trades in the vocational and technical schools.

Uzhgorod State University, which trains highly skilled specialists, was opened by decree of the KP(b)U Central Committee and the UkSSR Council of People's Commissars in October 1945. At that time it has four faculties: history, biology, philology and medicine. The first 168 students came to its lecture halls. These were the children of workers, working peasants and progressive intelligentsia who during the time of foreign oppression had not been able even to dream about a higher education. Thirty eight teachers worked in the 14 departments of the VUZ; among them were 10 candidates of science and assistant professors. Today more than 10,000 students are studying on the 12 faculties of Uzhgorod University. At the beginning of the 1979-1980 academic year 553 teachers, including 32 doctors and 311 candidates of science, were working in 63 departments.

During the years of Soviet rule in Transcarpathia as in other oblasts of the republic library affairs received extensive development. At the time of the liberation of the territory by the heroic Soviet Army only 2 libraries were open here--in Uzhgorod and Mukachevo; there were only 20,000 copies of books in their collections, which were used by 50 readers. But by the beginning of 1946, 487 libraries were already operating in the oblast. Today there are more than 1,212 libraries of all systems and departments with holdings of more than 12 million copies, and the libraries serve 929,905 readers.

The largest holdings are in the Uzhgorod University and the oblast libraries for adults and children. There are 1,732,286 copies of literature in different fields. During the years of Soviet rule nearly all libraries received new or modernized facilities.

The system of clubs in the oblast is expanding with every year. They have been open since the first days of the territory's liberation. Today there are 776 cultural institutions, including 686 state institutions. Nine hundred eighty four specialists with higher and secondary or special secondary educations are working in them.

Artistic activity has become an important means of giving the masses of workers the world of the beautiful. Its mass development in the oblast, as in the entire republic, is still further convincing evidence of the Communist Party's and the Soviet government's constant concern for the all-around development of the individual and the fullest manifestation of his aptitudes and talent.

Today there are 5,364 societies for amateur activities in the arts in Transcarpathia; they bring together 94,134 lovers of amateur art. In 1979 alone they gave 35,500 concerts and served more than 5 million urban and rural workers.

Today such collectives are active at almost every enterprise and at state and trade union clubs in the country. Amateur song and dance ensembles, choral and dance collectives, folk theatres, propaganda teams, folk music orchestras, symphonies and variety collectives, etc., have been created. Fifty of them have been awarded the honorary title of People's, and one of Amateur, Honored Group. Ten skilled craftsmen have the title of Honored Master of People's Art.

The successful development of the people's talents is promoted by conducting different reviews, contests and festivals almost annually. The first exhibit of people's art in Transcarpathia took place in spring 1945. All basic types of amateur art were represented at it. Since then creative meetings have been organized systematically. At the time of preparation for them dozens of collectives emerge and the amateurs' ranks swell with thousands of participants, including no few famous production workers, front rank agricultural workers and young people.

The motion picture network has become extensive. While in 1946 there were only 15 movie theatres and 50 film projectors in the oblast, there are now 699 projectors--96 urban and 603 rural.

In our time the cinema is not a wonder in even the most remote mountain village of Verkhovina. On the average 1300 shows are held daily in the movie theatres, palaces of culture and rural clubs. More than 40,000 viewers attended them. The motion picture network has increased 12.7-fold over 1946, and the number of those served has increased 6.3-fold. Movie-going by each resident of the oblast has increased 4.4-fold.

With each year the role of museums in Communist education of workers increases. In accordance with a decree of the People's Council of the Trans-Carpathian Ukraine a regional studies museum was opened in 1945 in Uzhgorod, and in 1948, an art museum. In June 1970 on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the reunification of Transcarpathia with the Soviet Union the Transcarpathian Museum of Folk Architecture and Life began to operate, and in September 1979 the Uzhgorod Museum of Atheism opened. Great treasures of material and spiritual culture are concentrated here.

Along with the state museums, the public museums have performed considerable work in collecting and propaganda. The first such institutions in the oblast were created during the 1950's. Today there are [illegible] them. Nearly 50,000 memoirs are kept here. The Beregovskiy M[illegible] Palace of Culture, the Beregovskiy Atheist Museum, the Yasinya, Velikiy [illegible]kov, Solotvina, (Babychanskiy, Petrovskiy, Fanchikovskiy) and other museums enjoy the greatest popularity.

During the years of Soviet rule happy changes also occurred in the development of theatrical art. In 1945 a state professional theatre was organized in Transcarpathia; it began its activity on the anniversary of the Great October Revolution with the performance of "Under the Chestnuts of Prague" based on K. Simonov's play.

On 17 June 1946 the State Transcarpathian Song and Dance Ensemble, which has developed into one of the republic's true collectives--the Honored Transcarpathian Folk Chorus of the UkSSR--gave its first performance. At the same time the oblast philharmonic with three professional collectives and the Uzhgorod Music School were opened. In 1947 the Russian dramatic theatre was created in Mukachevo with the help of Zaporozh'ye artists.

Today the artistic collectives of the oblast perform considerable work in communist education of workers. In 1979 alone they gave 2,451 concerts and plays and served 561,000 persons.

Among the artists of the theatres and philharmonics there are a number of honored artists. These are, in particular, People's Artists K. Balog, Ya. Gelyas, Honored Artists L. Arkad'yeva, V. Kostyukov, K. Labyk, M. Popenko, O. Polyak, P. Rak, V. Stolyarov, M. Kharchenko and others.

During the years of Soviet rule a large detachment of creative intellectuals has emerged in the oblast. They are united in the sections of the Unions of Writers, Artists and Journalists.

Our present is prosperous and splendid. It has marvelous prospects. We look to the future with confidence: our future will be still better.

9380
CSO: 1811

GEORGIAN GOSPLAN OFFICIAL ON IMPLEMENTING ECONOMIC REFORM

Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian 1 Jul 80 p 2

[Article by GSSR Gosplan Division Head A. Gabisoniya under rubric "Economic Mechanism: Ways to Improve It": "The Groundwork is Being Laid Today"]

[Text] In many ways, this year stands out from the general course of time. Primarily, it is a year of active preparations for the 26th CPSU Congress, which imparts special meaning to it and affirms the special rhythm of the work in each link of the country's and republic's economy. The year 1980 crowns the 10th Five-Year Plan, and how well the republic's economic potential is realized this year will largely determine the basic economic content of the coming 11th Five-Year Plan. This year is also distinctive in another way: it marks the beginning of a major, complex economic restructuring. We single out this factor because it essentially marks the start of conversion to new conditions of planning and economic incentive. There is much to be done in this regard, and there is little time--for most of the elements of the new economic mechanism go into force next year.

In July the CPSU CC and the USSR Council of Ministers passed the decree "Improving Planning and Strengthening the Influence of the Economic Mechanism on Increasing Production Effectiveness and Work Quality." This marked the fourth economic reform in the country's national economy. The baggage with which Georgia undertakes it, and what is to be done along these lines in the near future--these are questions that were examined at a meeting of the republic's party-economic aktiv in December 1979. The assembly decided to begin immediate preparations for the economic restructuring. The necessity of this was obvious: only a few of the republic's enterprises had any experience of working under the conditions stipulated by the party's and government's decree.

GSSR Gosplan, which has coordinated these efforts on a republic-wide scale, drew up for the various enterprises, associations, and organizations a special schedule governing implementation of the preparations and determined the range of those links in the economy which were to undertake the economic restructuring this year and apply the new planning indicators and evaluative criteria. Some 62 industrial enterprises and associations and five

construction organizations have now been selected for the work. Some 18 of them are located in Tbilisi, five each in Kutaisi and Batumi, three in Tskhinvali, two each in Gori, Sukhumi, Samtredia, Makharadze, Marneuli, and Akhaltsikhe, and one each in the other cities and rayons of the republic. Which were chosen? They include the Kutaisi Motor Vehicle Plant and Industrial Rubber Products, the Gruzkhimfarmpreparaty Production Association, the Tbilisi Machine Building Production Association, the Batumi Clothing Production Association, and other major production units. At 18 of the chosen enterprises, the new economic conditions went into force at the start of the year; at 20 the new conditions went into force starting in April; the others will begin the restructuring of planning and all operations starting in July of this year.

What does that mean, working in the new way? What does the complex of preparatory work signify? It means chiefly that in the 11th Five-Year Plan normative net output will be introduced into the practice of planning and reporting to serve as the main indicator. Anyone acquainted with economics knows that net output is a newly created value, free of material outlays, which includes only expenditures for wages and profit. This indicator has also been used previously throughout the country--to determine the national income. But we have never before used this "net" indicator to evaluate the economic performance of enterprises and associations.

What does the indicator do? First of all, and this must be emphasized, it reflects better the enterprise's contribution to the goods produced and the work completed. To a certain extent the new indicator will curb the enterprises' now rather widespread motivation to obtain costly raw materials and supplies and their eagerness to alter the assortment, and increase the value of the goods produced without increasing the physical volumes of production. The normative net output indicator also applies in determining and planning the dynamics of production volumes and in determining growth rates of labor productivity, wage fund normatives, and return on capital.

It is difficult, of course, even hardly possible, to restructure and immediately convert to this mechanism. There are numerous thrusts and nuances, and each one merits close attention and careful analysis, because, as practical experience has shown, restructuring is not likely to be accomplished without extra work and without mistakes. We do, however, already have some positive experience and encouraging results. Already many enterprises chosen to test out the new economic mechanism are completing the work to determine net output normatives, and it is going smoothly. In some places the work is already completed. GSSR Gosplan, for example, has already examined the normatives worked out by the Tbilisi Stocking and Hosiery Production Association, the Tbilisi Clothing Mill imeni Pervoye Maya, the tea packing factory, the Avchala Silicate Wall Materials Plant, and other enterprises. Many of them have been rated good.

A prominent place in preparations for the conversion to the new conditions is assigned to the formulation of wage fund normatives. Because this fund

will be determined and disbursed in accordance with normatives set for each ruble of output. Even kopecks will be counted. This method of planning and disbursement of the wage fund is superior to the present system in that it establishes a direct link between the volume of production output or work completion, on the one hand, and the amount of compensation for the work, on the other. Considering in addition that under the new conditions the enterprises will be motivated to comply with personnel strength limits, this will practically rule out discrepancies between labor productivity and the rate of increase in average wages. Up to now, such discrepancies have been quite common.

The complex of preparatory work also includes the formulation of profit distribution normatives. Under present regulations, if an enterprise does not fulfill the profit plan revenues into the state budget are not firmly guaranteed. Under such circumstances, even production outlays are often not fully covered. The normative principle of profit distribution being introduced means that the total funds necessary for expanded reproduction and all other outlays stipulated in the plan will be correlated with the total profits. The procedures provide that however well the enterprise fulfills the profit plan it may not deposit in the budget less than a pre-stipulated amount. In principle, this is genuine cost accounting. It is the kind which puts an end to dependence and brings to the forefront good production organization and streamlined economic-commercial performance.

The importance of this factor in the CPSU CC and USSR Council of Ministers decree on perfecting the economic mechanism is to be emphasized. And in order to ensure the success of preparations for the conversion, it is necessary to proceed on the basis that each enterprise is obliged to make full use of the additional incentives which the new method provides. These incentives precisely regulate all work on improving the quality of the goods produced, reliably block the production of uncertified and second-category goods, and place precise premiums on high-efficiency labor, the surpassing of output norms, and so on.

These efforts, therefore, are proceeding on a truly big scale. And to ensure good results from these preparations it is essential that the economic and technical services of the enterprises begin now to make a profound analysis of the enterprise's economic-financial performance. And it is essential that this analysis be conducted on the basis of the new indicators and evaluative criteria. This will help to reveal many production reserves.

To be more specific, the main attention now must be focused on such factors as the dynamics of production volume, taking account of the normative net output indicator, and the wage fund volume, determined by the normative method on the basis of the same indicator. It is essential to calculate seriously the proportion of goods produced as a result of increased labor productivity, the share of top quality category goods in the overall production volume, and the amount of production increase obtained as a

result of remodeling and modernization. It is also essential to know precisely how many workers are needed to turn out stipulated amounts of goods, so as not to keep more industrial personnel than the plan calls for--under the new conditions, this will be extremely disadvantageous to the enterprise. More attention will have to be focused on analyzing the level of mechanization, and the mechanization itself. It will also be worthwhile to determine what portion of the profit is accounted for by reduction of the prime cost....

In short, the economic mechanism improvement decree will require study and relearning. This is why the document must be thoroughly studied by every executive. This is especially so because there are many more guiding normatives; here we have listed only a few which are necessary today, during the first stage of conversion to the new conditions. All the remainder is in each ministry and department. Now, however, at the experimental and verification stage, it is essential to lay the necessary groundwork for the new work methods, without storming.

The first stage is difficult. Assessment of enterprise and organization performance is dual, by the usual, customary indicators and by those going into effect next year. There will, of course, be duplication, the kind of "double bookkeeping" that is so often discussed and written about by enterprise managers and production unit economists. But this is unavoidable now, we are preparing for reform. It is also necessary to prepare for the future. It is with this object in mind that the republic recently held the first inspection [smotr] of the readiness of industrial enterprises, construction-installation, scientific-research, and project-design organizations for conversion to the new conditions of planning and economic incentive. Each collective taking part in this first major experiment in our republic, and all the other enterprises, must now--without delay--master the essence of the indicators being introduced and prepare to apply them in practice. A second stage in the inspection is scheduled for 15 September through 15 November of this year. Practically every collective will undergo the readiness inspection. The results of the inspection will be entered in the basic conditions of socialist competition. The purpose of all these efforts is to improve the performance of all enterprises, all ministries and departments of the republic at the finish line of the 10th Five-Year Plan, to lay an excellent groundwork for rhythmical, confident operations in the coming five-year plan. The groundwork is being laid today.

6854
CSO: 1800

DEMIRCHYAN ON PLAN FULFILLMENT IN WAKE OF 'NATIONAL DISASTERS'

Yerevan KOMMUNIST in Russian 8 Jun 80 pp 1-3

[Abridged version of report by Comrade K. S. Demirchyan, first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee: "On Mop-Up Operations After Natural Disasters and Steps to Insure Fulfillment of the Republic's Economic and Social Development Plans for 1980 and the 10th Five-Year Plan"]

[Text] Comrades!

Today, the Central Committee plenum is discussing the tasks facing the republic party organization in order to remedy the situation created by natural disasters and to insure fulfillment of the economic and social development plan for the final year and the five-year plan as a whole.

A record snowfall with extreme cold and winds in mid-April, which covered practically the entire republic, caused perceptible damage to the economy, primarily to agriculture. The vineyards and orchards suffered especially. The weather killed the geranium and tomato crops, some of the vegetable and tobacco seedlings in hot houses, annual and perennial grasses, spring grain and other crops. Some livestock also died.

Studies conducted at the sites immediately following the natural disasters by special commissions set up by republic organs, as well as by specialists of the USSR Gosplan and by the USSR Ministries of Agriculture and Food Industry, indicate that 65 to 70 percent of the fruit crop and 60 to 65 percent of the grapes were lost. There were considerable losses to the green mass in feed crops.

The shortage in the planned volume of agricultural raw materials will greatly affect the fulfillment of production plans for food industry enterprises this year and next. All of this will have an extremely perceptible

effect upon the republic's commodity turnover and its budget. These circumstances, as well as the need to overcome the damage caused by natural disasters, place an additional burden upon the republic's economic and social development plans for 1980, which were already quite strained because of circumstances explained in detail at the December 1979 Plenum of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee. The December 1979 Plenum of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee set for us the task of insuring absolute fulfillment of the five-year assignments for the development of all sectors of the republic's economy. Specifically for industry, the plenum considered it essential to bring production volume growth, set at between 43 and 47 percent by the Main Areas of Development of the USSR National Economy During the Period 1976-1980 approved by the 25th party congress, up to the 47 percent level, that is, to the upper line specified in the assignment.

The Armenian Communist Party Central Committee and the republic government thoroughly examined the situation produced in the economy by the natural disasters. The steps taken and those in process and a thorough analysis of our capabilities led us to conclude that we could and should leave in effect the task set by the plenum of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee in December 1979. We can and must fulfill the assignments specified in the 10th Five-Year Plan.

What was the basis for this decision?

As it always has, the republic has received a great deal of assistance, both moral and material, from the CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet government.

Literally at once following the natural disasters, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and other party and government leaders personally inquired about the situation. With their genuine concern they encouraged the cadres and all of the workers to overcome the difficulties and provided real assistance in working out and implemen ing steps to remedy as rapidly as possible the situation created in the republic by the disasters.

Our entire nation supported us. We felt the helping hand of our brothers, the peoples of our great homeland. All of the Union republics gave us the assistance we needed to remedy the situation.

At the initiative of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers passed a special decree on measures to help the republic recover from the natural disasters. A broad group of economic, financial and material and technical measures have been outlined for helping agriculture, the processing industry, the housing and municipal service sphere and the population itself.

Additional allocations of financial and material resources, machinery, implements and other equipment have been made for repairing and restoring production, cultural and service facilities hit by the disasters.

By way of assisting the republic's kolkhozes and sovkhozes which suffered from the natural disasters, an exception has been made, writing off their overdue payments on short-term loans from the USSR Gosbank. Payments by kolkhozes and goskhozes due in 1980-81 on loans from the USSR Gosbank have been deferred.

Funds have been allocated out of supplementary revenues into the 1980 Union budget to sovkhozes and other state agricultural enterprises of the republic's Ministry of Agriculture to make up shortages in their own circulating capital.

An additional 30,000 tons of feed concentrates, the seed necessary to resow destroyed areas, and 50,000 tons of mineral fertilizers have been allocated as assistance to meet the needs of public animal husbandry. Chemical plant protection agents and agricultural equipment have also been allocated.

Financial resources have been allocated and construction materials made available for purchase as one-shot assistance to the republic's rural population.

Extra distillery supplies, aged cognac brandy, cocoa beans and other raw materials have been allocated in the required quantities for the processing industry to compensate for the shortage of agricultural raw materials and to insure the fulfillment of 1980 production plans by enterprises of the republic's food industry.

This is yet another demonstration of the concern of the party and the government for the republic and for the Armenian people, and further confirmation of the CPSU's undeviating implementation of the Leninist national policy and of the fraternal friendship and mutual assistance existing among the peoples of our great homeland.

Permit me to speak for the Central Committee plenum, the republic party organization, the communists and all the workers of Soviet Armenia, and express our sincere and heartfelt gratitude to the CPSU Central Committee, to the Central Committee Politburo, to the Soviet government and personally to our beloved L. I. Brezhnev for their great, truly paternal concern and their assistance to our republic, and assure them that we will do everything possible to insure fulfillment of the tasks assigned us.

In the adverse situation which has developed the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee and the republic government have taken emergency measures to overcome the effects of the natural disasters.

When these events first began, party, soviet and agricultural organs initiated a focused effort and took immediate steps to mobilize the labor teams of kolkhozes, sovkhozes, enterprises and organizations--all rural workers--to combat the elements, to prevent additional losses and eliminate the damage already caused.

We are deeply grateful for the truly selfless, heroic labor performed by our kolkhoz members, workers, specialists and scientists, by the entire rural population, in the struggle against the elements.

Throughout the republic we saw how they countered the caprices of nature with will-power and persistence, with an unwavering desire to prove themselves stronger than the elements, to surmount the difficulties and be the victors.

By applying their knowledge and experience and following the recommendations of scientists and specialists, our rural workers had the farms functioning practically normally, rapidly cleared up the initial damage caused by the elements and brought the perennial stands and the other crops and plantings up to an encouraging state

We should make special mention of the well-organized and smooth performance of the rural rayon party committees, which efficiently and effectively organized and directed this work. We can definitely say that our rural workers have won the first battle in the campaign to eliminate the damage caused by the elements. Direct losses have been minimized and the damage has been remedied as well as possible. Skillfully applied agricultural measures, the determined effort and the lovingly tended land are bearing fruit. Everything we have done will improve this year's harvest and will be returned a hundredfold. We can already state with certainty that a good foundation has been laid for raising the best crop possible.

From this lofty platform, on behalf of the Central Committee plenum, we express sincere gratitude to the republic's field and farm workers and to the scientists and specialists for their selfless, patriotic work, for the high level of communist awareness they have demonstrated and for their sense of duty and responsibility, and we are confident that they will continue to work to make 1980 a year of good indices.

The Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, the republic government and rayon and city party committees have taken steps to mobilize the efforts of the labor teams in industry and other sectors of the economy to increase output to compensate for the gap taking shape in industry's production volumes due to the anticipated drop in quantities of agricultural raw materials for processing. In this matter as well we must give credit for the great awareness and political maturity which characterizes our glorious working class. Many labor teams are accepting commitments to produce additional output to provide tangible assistance to the rural area. Preliminary figures indicate that we will have an additional 40 to 50 million rubles worth of products.

At the plenum today we must define the tactics for our work--political, organizational and administrative--based upon the situation which has developed at the given, specific stage in time. While speaking of tactical tasks, we are certainly not forgetting the fact that all those basic tasks advanced at the 25th party congress are dictated by the party's current economic policy, which we must implement consistently and undeviatingly, working with great efficiency and effectiveness.

Comrade K. S. Demirchyan then discussed the tasks which must be accomplished to insure fulfillment of the program for the concluding year of the 10th Five-Year Plan.

In view of the situation which has developed, he said, the Ministry of Agriculture, the party raykoms, the executive committees of the rayon soviets of people's deputies and the farm directors and specialists must take all possible steps to see that a system of agricultural measures are performed, which will promote the most rapid possible restoration of the vineyards and orchards damaged by frost.

I should point out the fact that a great deal has been done toward the accomplishment of this goal and that the performance of our workers deserves praise. Unfortunately, however, this is not true in all cases. In certain rayons we have encountered fatalistic attitudes, regression to irresponsibility and attempts to justify failure to take proper steps to restore the crops as much as possible with interminable excuses having to do with nature, excuses sometimes valid and sometimes not.

Our visits to the grape-growing areas have confirmed this. One does not have to go far, so to speak, for facts to back this up. An inspection of the vineyards on most of the farms in Masisskiy Rayon, made together with Comrade A. Khachatryan, second secretary of the Masisskiy Rayon party committee, and Comrade Sh. Kazaryan, chairman of the executive committee of the rayon soviet of people's deputies, revealed that the vineyards there are in a state of neglect and are overgrown with weeds. The leaders in Masisskiy Rayon apparently believe that they can shift the blame for their complacency and irresponsibility to the elements. Unfortunately, these are not isolated cases.

We cannot accept this situation. The plenum today must demand that all raykoms and rayispolkoms and the directors and party organizations of kolkhozes and sovkhozes see to the thorough performance of all agricultural measures contributing not only to the restoration of vineyards and orchards but also to the achievement of the best harvest possible. Along with the intensive application of the fertilizers and top dressing, it is extremely important for us to see to the correct and timely performance of all pest- and disease-control measures.

It is also of considerable importance to protect the perennial grasses from hail. The service for combating hail must therefore step up its work.

Our present situation increases the role and responsibility of scientific institutions, first and foremost the Scientific Research Institute of Viticulture, Wine-Making and Fruit Farming, the Scientific Research Institute of Plant Protection, the Armenian Agricultural Institute and others, their party organizations, scientists and specialists. They must provide the production workers with daily counsel and recommendations, and specific assistance.

Our prime task today is that of saving the grape and fruit crops and any additional loss of grapes or fruits should be regarded as a result of negligence and irresponsibility, and those to blame must be severely punished.

The large amount of work performed to revive the crops, as well as the progress made in recent years in viticulture and fruit-farming, the steady buildup of the materials and equipment base for these branches, the accumulated experience and skill of our grape and fruit growers, and the improved leadership of agricultural production provide the basis for the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee to set for party, soviet and agricultural agencies, leaders and specialists and the primary party organizations of kolkhozes and sovkhozes the assignment to sell the state up to 160,000-170,000 tons of grapes and 65,000-70,000 tons of fruit this year.

With these figures in mind, Gosplan and the Ministry of Agriculture have worked out supplementary assignments for each rayon, which have been approved by the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee.

These assignments are mandatory.

The Ministries of Agriculture and Food Industry, party raykoms and rayispolkoms must pass these assignments down to the farms, brigades and teams and take all necessary steps to see that they are fulfilled. Every team, brigade and farm must be held accountable for the fulfillment of these assignments.

The Ministry of Procurement and the board of Aykoop [Armenian Cooperative Association?], together with rayon party and soviet organs, must step up their efforts to organize the procurement of grapes and fruits from the population.

It is very important for us to plant new vineyards and orchards and to rebuild the old ones. This matter was the subject of a special discussion in the bureau of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee. A decree was passed on the matter.

Party raykoms, the ispolkoms of rayon soviets of people's deputies and kolkhoz and sovkhoz directors must work out a precise program of action to remedy the serious shortcoming existing in this important work and to insure absolute fulfillment of plans for planting stands of perennial grasses.

The conversion of grape and fruit production to an industrial basis will require the creation of large tracts of highly productive orchards and vineyards, with all the labor-consuming cultivation and harvesting operations totally mechanized. We should therefore perform the entire system of cultivation operations on areas in disuse and in unproductive vineyards and orchards and those killed by frost, and plant new orchards and vineyards of the various growth and production type.

The Ministry of Agriculture and its scientific research institutes must thoroughly revamp their operations and begin preparing large tracts for the cultivation of highly productive, frost-resistant varieties. On the one hand, this will basically protect us from the whims of nature, and on the other, it will conserve a great deal of labor and means, since the covering of the vines and the removal of their cover accounts for more than 70 percent of the outlays in grape cultivation.

You can see that we are faced with large, difficult and important tasks with respect to overcoming the damage caused the vineyards and orchards by the elements, and it is our immediate duty to perform these tasks with honor.

And now, a few words about geraniums, that essential-oil crop. This crop has suffered the most. We must promptly carry out the entire system of agrotechnical measures necessary to save the plantings and raise the geraniums.

The Ministry of Agriculture, the Minisry of the Food Industry, the party raykoms and the ispolkoms of rayon soviets of people's deputies in Oktemberyanskiy and Echmiadzinskiy rayons must see to the procurement from the stands remaining of up to 70 million units of planting material (scions and seedlings) for future crops. The Ministry of Agriculture should see to it that 200,000 geraniums scions and seedlings with the best reproduction rates are delivered to the republic.

We also have a great deal to do toward the procurement of feed and to provide for the successful wintering of the livestock during the 1980-81 season.

The matter of creating a solid feed base was discussed in detail at the April 1980 Plenum of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee. I would like to discuss briefly a number of matters requiring immediate action and prompt resolution.

According to forecasts by the Ministry of Agriculture it will be possible to lay in 2.3-2.4 million tons of coarse and succulent feeds in the republic this year. In order successfully to organize the procurement of feed and to accomplish this difficult but realistic task, literally within the next few days, we must review for each rayon and each farm the entire range of questions pertaining to the planting, care and cultivation of feed crops, procurement methods, the storage and use of the feed, as well as other matters pertaining to feed production. This is made even more urgent by the fact that we face the threat of a drought.

In addition to fulfilling the feed procurement plans this year, we must also create on each farm essential reserves and backup feed supplies exceeding last year's by 20-25 percent. This means that we must lay in an extra 150,000-160,000 tons of hay, 120,000-130,000 tons of silage, 100,000 tons of haylage and 50,000 tons of root crops for feed.

These assignments will be passed on to the rayons and farms and will be mandatory.

In order to achieve this we must make full use of all reserves for cultivated feed production and all natural feedlands, meadows and pastures. We must perform each mowing and harvesting of perennial grasses promptly and well to make it possible to get at least five cuttings of alfalfa and two of sainfoin on all irrigated land.

The specific circumstances of each farm must be considered in order to take advantage of every additional possibility for increasing production and stockpiling feed, including the production of hay from individual sections of pastures, in the floodplains of rivers, in forested areas with grassland, on roadsides and in other areas containing stands of grass.

Postharvest crops, catch crops and interplanting provide an important reserve for stockpiling feed. The republic has numerous farms which are taking advantage of such possibilities to increase the feed crop harvest. We are still not making adequate use of this reserve, however. After the early vegetables, grain and potatoes have been harvested the Ministry of Agriculture and rayon organizations must arrange for postharvest corn crops to be planted on more than 5,000 hectares and catch crops on more than 3,500 hectares.

We must also take careful account and preserve all feeds, especially straw from the harvests of past years, and arrange for this straw to be used as silage, fermented and with corn, alfalfa and other feed crops. We must make silage out of all the haulm from sugar beets, feed root crops and potatoes, out of the waste from vegetable and gourd crops, and other, wild grasses.

We must make maximum use of the waste from vegetable farming, from the food, meat and dairy industries and from public catering.

The organization of seed production is highly important. The Ministry of Agriculture must immediately arrange for all seed crops to be inspected, see to it that they are carefully tended and do everything possible to see that seed procurement plans are fulfilled. It must set supplementary procurement volumes for strain and hybrid seed.

The speaker continued, stating that vegetable farming is one of the republic's leading agricultural branches. A great deal has been done in recent years to intensify vegetable farming and to increase production volumes. This is adequately demonstrated by the fact that more than 155,000 tons of vegetables has been produced over and above the plan in the past four years.

A thorough analysis of the state of vegetable farming in the republic has revealed numerous shortcomings and oversights in this important branch, however, which must be remedied immediately. The problem of producing a variety of vegetables is still not receiving adequate attention in the republic.

In recent years vegetable procurement plans have been fulfilled by exceeding production plans for tomatoes, onions and cabbage, which account for 82 to 86 percent of the total procurement volume. As you can see, this leaves only 14 to 18 percent for the other 14 types of vegetables.

Targeted procurement volumes for peppers, eggplant, green beans, green peas and other vegetables are systematically missed year after year in the republic.

Leaders of a number of rayons also show little responsibility with respect to the fulfillment of plans for sales of gourd crops to the state. Failure to fulfill the plans causes market prices to increase for the vegetable and gourd crops mentioned above, and this creates justifiable dissatisfaction among the population. A very serious discussion took place on this matter at the December 1979 Plenum of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee. Unfortunately, many of the comrades apparently failed to derive the proper conclusions from the criticism leveled against them.

The Armenian Communist Party Central Committee emphatically demands that the Ministry of Agriculture, the Ministry of the Food Industry, the party raykoms and rayispolkoms correct the situation, see that vegetable crops are planted strictly in the prescribed assortment and consider this indicator without fail as an important criterion for appraising the end results of the work.

In past years we have encountered great difficulties in setting up a system for moving the vegetables. Success is determined in great part by the timely harvesting and transporting of the vegetables. It has been calculated that we could avoid vegetable losses amounting to 10-15 percent annually just by correcting this situation.

We have in mind for the main procuring enterprises of the Ministry of the Food Industry, the Ministry of Trade and the Aykoop board, together with suppliers and transport organizations, to compile a precise schedule for receiving and delivering vegetables to the consumers and to adhere absolutely to that schedule. Since the cold weather and rain this year have interfered with the planting in many rayons and the harvesting may naturally be somewhat later than usual, it is all the more important to apply every effort to arrange for the smooth and regular delivery of vegetables and to foresee possibilities for maneuvering equipment and motor transport means.

The situation with respect to potato planting plans is no better. Farms in Aparan Rayon, imeni Kamo, Kafanskiy, Martuninskiy, Razdanskiy and Sevanskiy rayons have not fulfilled their planting plans for this important food crop.

The leaders of party and soviet organs in the above rayons must take the most effective steps immediately to insure that the planned potato planting assignments are promptly and absolutely fulfilled.

Comrade K. S. Demirchyan went on to say that despite certain improvements in the use of irrigation water, there are still serious shortcomings in this important matter.

On many farms and in many rayons a great deal of irrigation water is wasted when the farm crops are watered. Inspections have shown that many farms do not water the crops round the clock, and especially at night, there are no irrigation workers and the irrigation equipment does not function. And this is in a republic with a shortage of water.

Aktivy must be conducted in all rayons, with all the water consumers and representatives of the irrigation systems participating, and specific measures must be worked out for making effective use of the water.

As they perform the tasks assigned party, soviet, agricultural agencies, farm directors and specialists and all livestock raisers by the decree passed by the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Council of Ministers, the AUCCTU and the Komsomol Central Committee "On Developing All-Union Socialist Competition Among Livestock Raisers to Increase the Production and Procurement of Animal Husbandry Products During the 1979-1980 Winter" and decisions coming out of the April 1980 Plenum of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, the farm workers are making a determined effort to further improve animal husbandry.

The volume of animal husbandry products has increased over the corresponding period for last year. A large campaign has been launched on republic kolkhozes and goskhozes to switch the livestock to summer pasturage.

At the same time there are numerous shortcomings in the work of rayon party, soviet and agricultural agencies. Milk production is increasing at a slower rate in certain rayons, and the productivity of livestock and poultry and sales of animal husbandry to the state have dropped.

The figures for 1 June of this year show that meat sales to the state have dropped in a number of rayons. This includes a reduction of 11.1 percent in Aparanskiy Rayon, 30.5 percent in Gukasanskiy Rayon, 32.5 percent in Oktemberyanskiy Rayon and 23.4 percent in Rayon imeni Kamo, and 67 percent at the Talinskiy Hog Complex.

Comrade K. S. Demirchyan was critical of the above and a number of other rayons for this kind of performance in animal husbandry. He then pointed out that all of this is occurring at a time when meat procurement in the republic must be increased by 7,000 tons in order to fulfill this year's meat sales plan. This is a very large task, and if our comrades continue to take such a casual attitude toward the matter it is doubtful that we will be able to fulfill the assignments and improve the supply of meat and meat products for the republic population. The Central Committee plenum must therefore resolutely demand that all rayons and all farms take specific steps to make full use of reserves for increasing meat sales to the state. The plan absolutely must be fulfilled.

And how are we dealing with milk production and sales? Poorly, we can say without hesitation. Milk procurement volumes have dropped on the farms of 15 rayons. This includes a drop of 8.8 percent in Shaumyanskiy Rayon, 7.6 percent in Idzhevanskiy Rayon, 3.4 percent in Stepanavanskiy Rayon, 11.5 percent in Oktemberyanskiy Rayon, 2.3 percent in Megrinskiy Rayon, and so forth.

All of this indicates that the party raykoms and the ispolkoms of the rayon soviets of people's deputies in the above rayons are still not dealing satisfactorily with problems of increasing the production and procurement of animal husbandry products. Instead of taking practical steps and improving the performance of animal husbandry workers, they make every attempt to place all the blame for falling procurement volumes for animal husbandry products upon a claimed reduction in the amount of feed concentrates available.

At the same time the rayons were even provided with extra feed out of state supplies, not to mention the fact that a record quantity of crude and succulent feed was prepared this year.

What sort of justification can be given by the leaders in Kalininskiy Rayon (Comrade L. Bagdasaryan is first secretary of the communist party raykom and Comrade K. Kazaryan is chairman of the ispolkom of the rayon soviet of workers' deputies), where meat sales to the state were off 4.2 percent as of 1 June this year, compared with the same period for last year, milk sales were down 4.1 percent and egg sales 4.7 percent, despite a complete supply of feed? After all, this rayon is supposed to set the pace in animal husbandry.

We should make fuller use of all reserves for increasing meat and milk procurement volumes and improving the quality of the product. In order to do so, we must arrange for the extensive exchange of advanced know-how, improve labor organization, increase the responsibility of all animal husbandry workers and specialists, employ various moral and material incentives, and universally strive for fuller use of reserves for increasing the productivity of the herd.

Comrades!

The whims of nature have disturbed the natural schedule for the performance of agricultural operations. We must now deal with an accumulation of various agricultural operations. We must sow and set out the crops and work them, and remedy the damage caused to vineyards and other inter-row crops, all at one time. The stockpiling of feed has begun on the Ararat plain and in the foothills. All of this is creating a great deal of pressure.

These difficulties are making it essential to raise the level of organization and discipline throughout, to see that the work proceeds smoothly, to fully mobilize all rural workers and further stimulate the efforts of rural party organizations, soviet, trade union and Komsomol organs.

All our efforts must focus upon insuring that the crops receive outstanding care and organizing an effective job of combating crop diseases. The most important thing now is to perform the entire range of agrotechnical operations at the most beneficial time.

We must also take additional steps to see that the harvest is gathered and feed laid in rapidly. The Ministry of Agriculture and the State Sel'khoztekhnika Committee should take determined steps to accelerate the repair of grain combines, silage and feed harvesters and motor transport equipment, and see that the farms are provided with machine operators.

The State Sel'khoztekhnika Committee must rapidly create the required pool of units, assemblies and spare parts on the kolkhozes and goskhozes and at their rayon associations. By the beginning of harvest and the laying in of feed it must create an adequate stockpile of fuel and lubricants to insure the uninterrupted operation of the harvesting equipment and the motor transport vehicles. It must also make certain that advanced methods of utilizing the equipment are extensively adopted on the kolkhozes and sovkhozes and must arrange for the harvest operations to be performed by mechanized detachments.

Rayon party committees and the ispolkoms of rayon soviets of people's deputies must put all the kolkhozes and sovkhozes, all the rayons, into the required state of mobilization, take specific steps to involve all able-bodied members of the population in agricultural work, properly distribute the communists, deputies, trade union and Komsomol activists in the crucial areas of production, properly organize their work and increase their role and their responsibility.

The Ministry of Food Industry, the Ministry of Meat and Dairy Industry and the Ministry of Procurement must rapidly complete the repair and preparation of canning plants, wineries, meat processing enterprises, elevators and procurement points, provide these enterprises with the proper number of workers and specialists, and arrange for their uninterrupted operation.

The Ministry of Trade, the Aykoop board, the Ministry of Agriculture and the Ministry of Procurement must take immediate steps to see that the procurement process is effectively organized, strictly adhere to the contractual agreements and devote special attention to product quality.

The successful conduct of the harvest, the procurement of agricultural products and their transfer to the common Union stockpile, and the accumulation of feed depend greatly upon the smooth operation of motor and rail transport facilities. The Ministry of Motor Transport, the Ministry of Agriculture, the State Sel'khoztekhnika Committee and the Yerevan division of the Transcaucasus Railway should take all necessary steps to insure the uninterruped operation of the motor transport system and to accelerate the delivery of railroad cars to their destinations.

The most important thing at this point is to activate all rural party, soviet, trade union and Komsomol organs, to mobilize the field and farm workers for shock labor and to launch extensive socialist competition for the performance of tasks set for the concluding year of the 10th Five-Year Plan.

The speaker went on to say that successes achieved in economic development during the past 4 years provide a good foundation for performing the national economic tasks set for 1980, the final year of the 10th Five-Year Plan and for moving firmly ahead.

Workers in industry, the leading sector of the national economy, face a difficult and responsible task--that of achieving the high goals set for this year. Despite a number of objective difficulties and in some cases, difficulties with the materials and equipment supply and with the batching of manufactured articles, industry on the whole has coped with the assignment for the first 5 months. The gross output plan was exceeded by 2.5 percent, and growth was 7.2 percent above the corresponding figure for last year. Industrial output was 54.1 million rubles in excess of the plan, and 52.3 million rubles worth of products was sold over and above the plan. Labor productivity increased by 3.5 percent.

The republic's production associations and industrial enterprises continued working to improve the commercial grade and the quality of their products. Products in the highest quality category accounted for 17.2 percent of the total production volume in the first quarter of 1980, compared with the 15.7 percent specified in the plan. The republic's industry presently produces more than 2400 items bearing the State Emblem of Quality.

These overall successes achieved in industry during the past five months were also accompanied by serious shortcomings, the elimination of which must be our priority task in the period coming up.

Tasks have been assigned workers in industry for 1980, which demand first of all absolute fulfillment and overfulfillment of plan assignments by literally every enterpr e and every organization.

In order to achieve the maximum growth of industrial production volumes specified by the five-year plan, we must insure production volume growths between 7.5 and 8.0 percent this year. According to the results of the first five months we have a growth of 7.2 percent, while exceeding the plan by 25 percent.

What are we doing wrong? The fact is that the party raykoms and gorkoms, republic ministries and departments and primary party organizations are not dealing properly with problems of universally strengthening state plan discipline and are not doing enough to increase the responsibility of directors and other workers at industrial enterprises in this important matter.

Inadequate plan assignments continue to be accepted, plans are not fulfilled and they are adjusted down.

The January-May 1980 plan for sales of industrial output was not fulfilled by 69 production associations and enterprises, which sold 12.1 million rubles worth of products below the figure specified by the plan. A total of 71 associations and enterprises did not fulfill gross output plans. They were short by 14.5 million rubles worth of manufactured goods.

We must add to this the fact that the gross output plan for this period was adjusted by reducing it a total of 4.2 million rubles. If not for this adjustment and if these enterprises had fulfilled the plan, the growth in industrial production volumes would have exceeded 8 percent, that is, we would have achieved the goal set by the plenum of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee in December 1979.

The Yerevan Relay Plant has set an example of inconsistent production plan fulfillment and individual plan adjustment. In 1979 the enterprise frequently fell short of its monthly plans and adjusted them downward. Last year's sales of output plan was reduced by 2.5 million rubles, and the production volume plan by 2.8 million rubles. This situation is continuing in 1980. The enterprise failed to fulfill the plans in January and April and has already adjusted the plan downward (at this point, by transferring a portion to subsequent quarters) by 0.4 million rubles for sales and 0.2 million rubles for production volume.

In this case we will not talk about the importance of the adjustment figures. The important thing here is the attitude of the enterprise directors. Instead of giving careful thought to the matter and working

consistently to insure plan fulfillment, Comrade E. Arzumanyan, plant director, and Comrade E. Saakyan, party committee secretary, have made every effort to attribute the adjustment and nonfulfillment of plans solely to difficulties with the materials and equipment supply and with deliveries of batching articles. This is a weak defense, however, and it cannot conceal major shortcomings in the work, which consist of poor performance discipline and a lack of organization in the work. Unfortunately, this is not an isolated case.

The results for the first four months showed that the enterprises which failed to fulfill industrial production sales plans included the Yerevan "Gidroprivod" plant, the "Stroymashina" plant in Leninakan, a number of enterprises under the Ministry of Food Industry and especially the Ministry of Industrial Construction, the "Polivinilatsetat" plant, the Oktemberyanskiy Machine Tool Plant, the Shinurayskiy Rubber Footwear Plant, and others.

What conclusions should we draw from this? What is our task?

Party raykoms and gorkoms and the ministries and departments must thoroughly analyze the reasons why each enterprise is lagging, take exhaustive steps to eliminate them and provide the directors with assistance, when needed, in resolving problems beyond their control. The most important thing, however, is to increase the responsibility of the cadres for their assigned job and hold them strictly accountable. We must not have any enterprises failing to fulfill the plan assignments. This is not a slogan and not an appeal but an urgent necessity. We need to focus the efforts of primary party organizations and the labor teams in this area. We need to resolutely discourage unjustified plan adjustments and strictly punish those who like to engage in such practices.

Why are we making such a sharp issue of these matters? There is no possibility of retreat for us. Each ruble from the production and sales of manufactured goods is figured in our measures to successfully complete 10th Five-Year Plan assignments for growth of industrial production volumes.

We need to devote special attention to maintaining steady improvement of production effectiveness.

Good production effectiveness is primarily a matter of good labor productivity. Unfortunately, this simple fact is not understood by many of our leading cadres. Certain party committees are still not working persistently to see that the primary party organizations come solidly to grips with problems of increasing labor productivity. There is no other way to explain the fact that during the first four months, 9 republic cities and rayons (Araratskiy, Artikskiy, Goriskiy and Gukasyanskiy rayons, and others) did not fulfill the labor productivity plan, and 12 fell below that achieved last year (Aragatskiy, Spitakskiy, Sevanskiy and Tumanyanskiy

rayons, and others). A total of 91 production associations and enterprises, 17.6 percent of the total number, failed to fulfill labor productivity plans.

I should point out that a number of ministries, departments, enterprises and organizations are not performing satisfactorily in the area of planned and systematic improvement of labor productivity based on accelerated scientific and technological progress, improvement of production organization and continuous intensification of production.

We have repeatedly discussed the fact that the task is one of keeping the plan for increasing labor productivity, from the moment it is compiled and throughout its realization, at the center of attention of party organizations and administrative leaders, ministries and departments, enterprises, rayon and city party committees and all soviet and planning agencies.

We are not satisfied today with the work performed by many industrial enterprises and individual republic branches and rayons to improve the commercial grade and the quality of their products. Certain enterprises are not just failing to accelerate this work but are actually falling away from the levels they have achieved. During the first quarter of this year, for example, the State Emblem of Quality was taken away from two items produced by the Goris Knit Goods Factory and one article produced by the "Elektropribor" production association. The situation reached the point at which a fine was imposed upon the "Armelektromash" production association for a product which had been in the highest quality category.

City and rayon party committees, ministries and departments must consistently devote real attention to improving product quality, to product certification and to increasing production volumes of articles bearing the State Emblem of Quality.

The fulfillment of national economic plans depends greatly upon the uninterrupted and smooth operation of the transport system.

Despite certain advances made in the operation of rail transport, the overall situation remains unsatisfactory. During the first five months of this year the Yerevan division of the Transcaucasus Railway fulfilled the plan for all the main technical and economic indicators with the exception of such an important indicator as "freight car turnover" (95.3 percent). The cause was failure to meet the demurrage norm on enterprise sidings, which was 8.4 hours instead of 5.7, for which the railway was paid almost 800,000 rubles in fines.

At many enterprises freight handling work at night and on Saturdays and Sundays is poorly organized. The recent experience of the Yerevan party gorkom and raykoms in organizing loading and unloading operations on holidays has shown that fair results can be achieved when strict party control is exercised over this important area of work.

The motor transport workers also have important tasks in this area. They must double the volume of interrepublic shipments in truck-hauled containers this year compared with 1979, which will make it possible to reduce the amount of short-run cargo hauls by rail and will free around 4,000 general-purpose railway containers for use in the national economy. At the same time, we should work to increase the number of centralized hauls, which should comprise at least 70 percent of the total volume this year. Increasing the volume of freight hauled in trailers is one way of making motor transport operations more efficient.

At the November 1979 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev stressed the fact that economy and thrift in the use of material resources and an uncompromising campaign against losses of every kind constitute one of the main aspects of effective management. Every communist and every manager should be genuinely concerned for our national resources. And we should never forget the fact that intensification of economic development and good work effectiveness and quality are inconceivable without a determined campaign against mismanagement, lack of responsibility and waste.

This applies primarily to the fuel and energy problem. We have still not done everything possible to insure that electric and thermal energy are used intelligently and strictly for their designated purpose. We must focus the efforts of the labor teams, party, soviet, trade union and Komsomol organizations and people's control agencies upon the thorough conservation of fuel and energy resources and upon their efficient use. We must also approach with great awareness and concern the task of conserving metal, lumber, cement and other construction materials, using them carefully and only for their designated purpose.

The CPSU Central Committee is now directing our attention to the need to develop and apply progressive metal-working technology, which will result in a considerable saving of metal. We have large reserves in this area as well. They were discussed in detail at the December Plenum of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee.

Comrades! The damage inflicted upon the republic economy by the elements can be alleviated considerably by increasing the output of industrially produced, commercial products, if the collectives of construction and installation organizations place new production capacities and other fixed capital into operation on time or ahead of schedule. The fulfillment of commitments accepted by organizations of the Ministry of Light Industry, the Ministry of Industrial Construction and Glavmontazhspetsstroy to have four production units in operation ahead of schedule, for example, will make it possible to turn out additional commercial products during the extra month of their operation.

After considering the matter of providing assistance for kolkhozes and sovkhozes which have suffered from the elements, the Ministry of Rural

Construction together with the Ministry of Agriculture committed themselves to fulfill a supplementary construction and installation assignment involving the construction or restoration of 48 facilities at a total cost of 2.8 million rubles. This will considerably alleviate the damage suffered.

Unfortunately, there are still serious shortcomings in capital construction, which are hindering the successful fulfillment of economic development plans. The state capital investment plan for the first five months of 1980 was fulfilled by 85.1 percent for the republic as a whole. This includes a fulfillment figure of 85 percent for production facilities and 96 and 99.8 percent respectively for construction and installation work.

Only 105.8 million rubles worth of fixed capital, or 8.4 percent of the annual plan, was placed into operation. The figure is 10.6 percent lower than the amount of fixed capital going into operation during the corresponding period of last year.

The construction of housing and civilian facilities is also unsatisfactory. Capital investment plans for housing construction were fulfilled by 91.8 percent, housing construction was down almost 2-fold, school construction was down to 86 percent, the construction of preschool facilities 74.5 percent, hospital and medical center construction 88 percent, and municipal service construction 72.4 percent of the figures for the same period in 1979.

The failure to fulfill capital construction plans is a direct result of a low level of performance discipline on the part of leaders of construction ministries and departments, clients, construction and installation trusts and administrations, which, despite repeated criticism for their shortcomings, have not taken determined steps to correct the situation and to create all the conditions necessary for the normal performance of construction and installation work.

There is no other way to explain a situation in which, with an overall fulfillment level of 101.4 percent in the republic for the plan for construction and installation work for production facilities, plans for the construction of priority industrial facilities were fulfilled by only 70 percent.

We have the right to ask Comrade E. Avakyan, minister of industrial construction, and Comrade G. Tatevosyan, minister of rural construction, how it happened that with an overall plan fulfillment of 93.6 percent and 104.1 percent respectively for contract work, they have permitted construction and installation plans for priority facilities to be fulfilled by only 70-71 percent. Is it not time for them and their numerous deputies to reorganize their work and that of subordinate organizations, with a view to meeting the national economic demands of today?

Many construction and installation administrations and trusts are not insuring proper organization of construction work or the goal-directed use

of materials and equipment and labor resources allocated to them. At most construction sites, construction machinery and transport equipment are not used satisfactorily, advanced labor organization methods are poorly applied, there are frequent disruptions in the supply of materials and elements, and the leaders of construction and installation organizations continue to accept these shortcomings and do not take determined steps to eliminate them, apparently expecting someone else to do so.

There are many cases in which construction periods are prolonged because the clients are late in providing the projects with quality planning and estimate documentation, equipment and special materials.

Clients and planning organizations violate directive and normative construction periods, resulting in a scattering of the allocated capital. Finally, many clients do not fulfill with adequate precision their function of exercising technical supervision over the course of construction and its quality. All these shortcomings and violations take place right in front of the primary party, trade union and Komsomol organizations of construction and installation trusts, administrations and client-enterprises, which do not exercise proper persistence in spotting and eliminating their causes.

Rayon and city party committees do not give adequate attention to the construction of priority facilities, rarely discuss the state of the work, do not evaluate negligent directors from a position of principle and do not hold them accountable for failure to fulfill plans. An example of this is the position taken by the leaders of the Aparanskiy Rayon party committee and the rayon soviet executive committee, who are extremely indifferent to the fact that plans for the construction of three extremely important facilities have not been fulfilled year after year. The party raykom and the rayispolkom do not render practical assistance in providing the projects with workers and the resolution of other problems or in creating a situation in which the work can proceed normally.

When one talks with Comrades B. Andreasyan and M. Pogosyan, they frequently mention the need to build industrial facilities to provide jobs for the able-bodied members of the population. One asks himself whether they consider acceptable the fact that workers are transported to Aparan from Yerevan and other rayons to build a cattle raising facility, a cheese factory and other facilities.

We must put an immediate end to the lag in the construction of priority and other start-up production facilities and insure that they begin operating, bearing in mind the fact that each day, week and month of early operation helps to increase production output, thereby fulfilling industry's plans.

Primary party, trade union and Komsomol organizations and the leaders of construction and installation organizations, ministries and departments must concentrate upon the early and absolute fulfillment of construction plans in the concluding year of the five-year plan.

Party raykoms and gorkoms and the ispolkoms of rayon and city soviets must activate all factors and increase capital construction rates.

Comrades! The economy's materials and equipment supply will greatly determine the degree to which we erase the effects of the natural disasters and insure fulfillment of the republic's economic and social development plan for 1980. A great deal has been accomplished in recent years in this area, but the state of the economy's materials and equipment supply and the organization of the application of allocations in the republic are still not meeting our increased needs. There are frequent losses of funds for such extremely important materials as structural lumber, rolled ferrous metal products, cement and cable, and the heavy earth moving equipment and other materials and equipment so greatly needed by the republic.

Gossnab and the republic's State Sel'khoztekhnika Committee must insure the prompt and total application of all funds allocated for the republic. They must take the steps necessary to restore the lag in the delivery of materials and machinery, which developed during the first quarter of 1980, and do everything possible to see that the annual funds are fully applied.

The organizational and political work performed by party organizations, which has always focused upon the accomplishment of basic social and economic tasks facing the republic, Comrade K. S. Demirchyan noted, has been more effective in recent years. And this improvement is bearing fruit, as reflected in the results of the republic party organization's work to develop our economy and raise the standard of living of the workers.

In order to fulfill the tasks advanced by the central committee plenum toward the successful completion of the 10th Five-Year Plan, we must increase the aggressiveness of the primary party organizations in every way and constantly improve the organizational and political work they perform in the labor collectives.

The party gorkoms and raykoms and the primary party organizations must openly discuss the situation created by the elements, carry the tasks set by today's plenum to the workers and mobilize the communists and the labor collectives for overcoming the effects of the disaster. They should precisely define the role and the place of every primary party organization and of every communist and every worker in the struggle to achieve maximum results in the fulfillment of 1980 economic plans and the five-year plan as a whole.

Special stress must be laid upon the role of rural party organizations. They must mobilize all the workers of the fields and farms to work in a well organized and efficient manner by employing additional agrotechnical measures to raise the largest possible crop of grapes, fruits, grain, sugar beets, vegetables, potatoes and other field crops, and to increase the productivity of the common herd.

Rural party raykoms, primary party organizations and local agricultural agencies must work out and implement specific measures for every farm, aimed at exceeding plans for the production and sale of other agricultural products in amounts making up to the maximum possible degree anticipated losses in yield from the damaged crops.

It should be pointed out that party committees of the Ararat Valley and the republic's other areas have accomplished a great deal toward the achievement of this goal. They have properly understood their task as that of mobilizing completely and focusing the efforts of kolkhoz and sovkhoz workers upon overcoming the difficulties. These efforts must not be relaxed even the slightest bit.

Rural party raykoms, primary party organizations, the ispolkoms of rayon soviets, agricultural ministries and their local agencies must take all the steps necessary, seek additional reserves and inspire the kolkhoz and sovkhoz workers, the workers of interfarm enterprises and specialists to minimize the damage caused by the elements, to raise a good crop and to see that it is harvested in good time and that none of it is lost. The measure of success should not be the harvest alone, but most importantly, as Comrade L. I. Brezhnev remarked, that which reaches the consumer. This is the end result of all the efforts and should be considered the main one.

The labor teams of our cities and industrial centers can and must provide the rural area with a great deal of assistance. We have an accumulation of good experience in patronage on the part of cities, city rayons and industrial, construction, transport and other enterprises and organizations. In the present situation, they should make every effort to provide the rural area with assistance in the form of patronage.

The most important task of the party organizations is one of creating a climate of good organization and firm discipline in each section. Everything possible must be done to prevent any lack of discipline or weakening of effort. This disorganizes the collective, disrupts the labor rhythm and results in undesirable moral and material losses.

As they perfect their organizational and political work forms and methods the party gorkoms and raykoms and the primary party organizations must increase party influence in all areas of our life and work. They must work persistently and consistently to further strengthen control and monitor performance. I could cite many examples in which we are losing a great deal due to poor performance discipline and an irresponsible attitude on the part of certain officials and other workers toward their service duties and due to the fact that certain organizations exercise poor control over the fulfillment of directives issued by the party and government and of their own decisions. We must take a determined stand and put an end to the situation. The central committee and the republic government must step up and strengthen control. It must be performed on a daily basis, it must be carried out on a daily, practical basis and it must be publicized and be truly efficient and effective.

We must set up a precisely functioning system of control and organization of performance at all levels of administration. We must take a comprehensive approach and demonstrate efficiency and singleness of purpose. We must not become carried away with creating numerous documents, reports and so forth on the fulfillment of this or that decision, with writing new "directives" on how to fulfill a directive or with issuing duplicate orders on the same issue to the detriment of the specific job of organizing the fulfillment of our own decisions and of directives issued by the party and government.

The party gorkoms and raykoms, the ispolkoms of the soviets of people's deputies, the ministries and departments must keep their focus upon matters of control, thoroughly analyze the state of performance discipline, take determined steps to overcome any lag in the fulfillment of resolutions by directive agencies or of their own decisions, and must hold strictly accountable those to blame for disruptions in the fulfillment of established assignments.

Daily, precise and effective control is an extremely important tool for successful administrative work and an effective means of increasing the personal responsibility of the cadres for their assigned areas of work, states the decision recently adopted by the CPSU Central Committee "On the State of Control and Verification of Performance in the USSR Ministry of Petroleum Processing and Petrochemical Industry."

It is the duty of party, soviet and administrative agencies and their directors to strive to see that every element in the control system clearly understands its role and place in the resolution of national economic problems and in the fulfillment of state plans and of the tasks ahead of them.

All-round development of socialist competition and its orientation toward the achievement of quality indicators and toward the end, national economic results constitute one of the main areas of the organizational and political work of party organizations to insure the fulfillment and overfulfillment of national economic development plans and assignments for the final year and five-year plan as a whole.

An analysis of commitments accepted for 1980 in the branch and by territory and the course of their fulfillment show that on the whole they are in conformity with the assigned tasks and are generally being successfully implemented. Furthermore, many labor collectives have sought new reserves and accepted additional socialist commitments, the fulfillment of which will make it possible considerably to increase the output of the articles most important to the national economy and to accelerate growth rates for production volumes. This is true of the collectives at enterprises of the republic's Ministry of Light Industry, the "Armelektrosvet" and "Avtogenmash" production associations, and others.

The socialist commitments of the best labor collectives typically involve an organic combination of quantitative and qualitative tasks and are oriented toward the overfulfillment of plan assignments, primarily by improving production effectiveness and work quality, and this shows that they are focusing upon the implementation of demands coming out of the 25th party congress.

No matter how thoroughly developed and substantiated, however, commitments by themselves do not insure success, but are only the beginning of an extensive struggle to achieve the goals outlined. The main thing is to achieve the set goals each day, persistently, purposively and selflessly.

It is precisely this which has produced the basis for the success achieved by our advanced collectives in the fulfillment of their socialist commitments. Unfortunately, this is not true of all collectives. Certain ones are frequently satisfied with the act of accepting commitments--and good ones, at that--but they forget to implement them and leave their fulfillment to occur on its own.

The tasks of primary party organizations, party raykoms and gorkoms and the Armenian Trade Union Council consist in resolutely cutting off such developments and making socialist competition truly effective. Daily control over the fulfillment of plans and commitments, of that which has been outlined, must be established at every enterprise, in every shop, section and brigade, on every farm and at every work station. This must become a vital job for party, soviet, trade union and Komsomol organizations and people's control agencies. We refer to the kind of control which would make it possible to know each day which brigades, shops, farms and sections have fulfilled their plans and commitments, which ones have not, why they have not, what should be done to eliminate shortcomings and what can be done to help the competition participants even more.

All of this must receive publicity, extensive publicity, in order to surround the outstanding workers with honor and respect, and to make those who have not created the conditions necessary for highly productive, quality work responsible to the collective, to the party organization and to the public.

In short, comrades, we are speaking of a oneness of word and deed. That which we outline for ourselves must be carried out. This is all the more important now, when we are outlining specific steps to successfully complete the 10th Five-Year Plan.

We frankly admit that we are setting a complex and difficult task for ourselves. Its accomplishment will require that we, all the communists and all workers, apply all our strength, determination, energy and knowledge. There is no place for complacency or contentment. A high

level of discipline, organization, efficiency, consistency and persistence in the work and in our struggle to achieve the goals outlined can insur that we will succeed.

Permit me, Comrade K. S. Demirchyan said in conclusion, to assure the Leninist CPSU Central Committee that the communists and all the republic's workers will make the concluding year of the five-year plan a year of shock work, of work performed in the Leninist manner, and will commemorate the glorious 60th anniversary of the establishment of Soviet power in Armenia and of the creation of the Armenian Communist Party and the forthcoming 26th CPSU Congress with new achievements in the building of communism.

11499
CSO: 1800

ARCHITECTS BLAMED FOR TURKMEN DRABNESS

Ashkhabad TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA in Russian 17 Jun 80 p 2

[Article by F. Bagirov, assistant chief architect for the city of Ashkhabad: "The Southern Version--What Should the Turkmen City be Like?--Finding Their Own Ways--The Economy of the Standard Plan"]

[Text] Turkmen architects bear a great responsibility in shaping the appearance of the republic's cities. This task is still not being performed satisfactorily, however. The cities look drab and monotonous. And this is not due alone to the construction industry's limited resources. Architect A. R. Akhmedov demonstrated the extensive architectural possibilities of poured reinforced concrete in his plans for the State Library imeni K. Marks. There are other buildings as well, which unquestionably add to the beauty of Ashkhabad but still add nothing to the distinctness of its appearance. There is nothing for us to praise in the areas of mass construction. We have no unique complexes or apartment buildings. We have not achieved originality in our housing construction. And the architects are primarily to blame for all this.

At the same time, our area has a great many distinctive and unusual things. The republic has a climate comparable to that of the Sahara in summer and to that of Russia's central zone in winter. Its landscape is richly endowed with desert and semiarid land, mountains and foothills, river valleys and coastal scenery. It contains diverse plant life, from ephemeral grasses to relic species. One would think that Turkmenia's natural, climatic, demographic and cultural peculiarities would be translated without fail into architectural designs and would furthermore become the basis for creating our own, southern styles in urban development.

This matter has long been discussed. We have to admit, however, that we are still at the very beginning of the search for creative experimental architectural design, spatial arrangement and compositional plans for developing our cities. Design rules and standards in the region have not yet been adequately worked out, and scientific recommendations cannot be extensively applied due to the narrow scope of our treatment of the

problems and to our failure to take an overall approach to the performance of urban development tasks. We have not coordinated the normative requirements, which sometimes conflict with each other. Standard housing plans take into account weather conditions but not landscape factors. As a result, the entire territory of the republic is divided into two climatic regions, despite the fact that for urban development purposes there are four regions, which differ greatly and require different planning approaches. For example, that which is suitable for the Ashkhabad Oasis, surrounded by mountains and deserts, may not be as good for the coastal city of Krasnovodsk, and vice versa. Despite considerable differences in natural and climatic conditions, however, we take the same approach in the development of Mary and Kopet-Dag, Chardzhou and Tashauz, Ashkhabad and Krasnovodsk.

This is amply illustrated by the housing developments in Krasnovodsk. The city's intricate and interesting profile is literally eroded by awkwardly arranged groups of houses identical as matchboxes. We need a better system for appraising natural and climatic conditions for urban development purposes. We need to develop standard housing requirements, and most importantly, we need a creative grasp of the entire group of interrelated questions pertaining to architecture and construction.

A great deal has been accomplished in this respect in recent years by Architects Ya. F. Vysotskiy, A. Yesenov and Yu. Katsnel'son. This work should be continued, since with the conversion to totally prefabricated housing construction the problem of taking natural and climatic factors into account is assuming prime importance. The problem is becoming one of organizing a healthy living environment for man. The Turkmen SSR Gosstroy, the republic's Ministry of Construction, the "Turkmengosproyekt" institute and other planning organizations and our Architects' Union have something to think about and room in which to seek the answers.

In my opinion, we should first of all abandon the mechanical transferring to Turkmenia of methods used for planning housing tracts in Russia's central central areas. The results of this dim-sighted imitation are more than obvious. Microregions Nos 6 and 30 in Ashkhabad are a good example. Their planning was based on the so-called straight-line development system, which does not allow for exposure breaks in the construction for ventilation purposes, and so forth.

Nor has the "free planning" system employed in creating the third and fourth microregions justified itself. Studies performed by workers with the Central Scientific Research, Planning and Design Institute of Urban Development have shown that in some cases this has resulted in intensification of the climate's negative effects upon the residents. The open spaces left for recreation and sports, at our level of management, were not designated for anyone in particular and became vacant lots--sources of dust and solar radiation.

In addition to everything else the "free planning" system lowered economic indices, specifically, housing density. The comfort of the living environment and construction economy are directly dependent upon the proper planning of microrayons. I believe that the underlying principle should be that of creating a compact tract structure. This makes it possible to provide better protection for the people against harmful effects of the environment and to build the housing closer to service facilities, as well as to make more efficient use of valuable and extremely scarce urban space.

This type of structure was employed in planning the Gaudan Microrayon in Ashkhabad, where a reduction in the area of zones with little functional use, the economic distribution of developed and empty space and the joint use of service facility areas made it possible without detriment to the other indices not only to increase housing density but also to considerably reduce the cost of engineer work and the provision of public services, and increased comfort and convenience.

Other development methods can be found for other cities of Turkmenia. With all their differences, however, the urban development strategy must serve to further increase the effectiveness of capital construction and improve its quality and caliber and--we are not afraid to use this term--its beauty. I must admit that we have not achieved any great heights in this area. The reason for the poor economy and low quality of plans and development projects lies in the extremely limited selection of standard housing and public building designs and in the lack of a selection of compact forms and elements for the provision of public services and of attractive designs for single homes, using advanced designs and poured reinforced concrete.

This is why the "Turkmengosproyekt" institute has for a long time performed the generally unrewarding and not very creative job of adapting standard plans produced by the "TashZNIIEP" institute to local conditions. The architecture is extremely schematic and the details are too finely scaled and poorly outlined. The four series which are now in use have little adaptability for urban development. They contain standard apartments which do not measure up to modern requirements in general and to Turkmenia's specific conditions in particular.

Added to this is the fact that while the planners are adapting them and while the housing construction combines are mastering their production, the series become irreparably obsolete. I am afraid that this may be the fate of the new apartment building series No 146, which is extremely advanced for now. It has greater urban development possibilities than those now in use: heights varying from four to nine floors and underground, convertible summertime space, and the blocks have increased depth, which means an increase in linear density.

The plan includes air conditioning and other comforts for people living in a hot climate. Thanks to the efforts of workers at the "Turkmengosproyekt" institute, the series differs from the Tashkent version. Its practical

application is only planned up to 1985, however, and at that, only if the technical requipment of the Ashkhabad and Bezmein house building combines proceeds smoothly. New and improved apartment series plans may be produced during that time, and we will again find ourselves at the tail end of urban development science.

What is the solution? We see it primarily in granting independence to the "Turkmengosproyekt" institute. The team there should be bolder in developing their own unique plans for apartment buildings, and they should be designed specifically for the southern region; submit their own plans for developing and planning apartment buildings and housing tracts; take an example from the Riga and Tallin architects and builders and create model microrayons with the complete complex of housing and social, cultural and sports facilities.

The republic's leading, elder architects should also turn their attention to mass construction. I think that the collectives of the Turkmen SSR Ministry of Construction will be happy to begin erecting individual apartment buildings if their plans are based on prefabricated elements or employ poured reinforced concrete. In short, we must reject the depersonalized architecture. Pursuing quantity alone to the detriment of quality loses architecture's vital link with rapidly changing life, with its present and future.

The results are extremely regrettable. Entire construction trades are disappearing--those of bricklayers and wood carvers, for example. Urban microrayons quite often consist of box-type apartment buildings. Not one of them contains the full complement of service facilities specified in the plan, which is absolutely unacceptable in our local uncomfortable natural and climatic conditions.

Many factors are to blame for the incomplete development of the cities, including existing planning methods and those used to rate the end results of the work performed by contract organizations, based on meters and volumes. Strange as it seems, even the gorispolkoms, which are the clients, do not look out for the public's interests. The planners have also become infected with the "meter fever." The author's inspection system is not performing the metered role at the construction sites. After producing a plan, the author has little interest in its fate, and as a result, there are frequent violations and deviations both from the design and from the general development plan for the housing tract. The "Turkmengosproyekt" institute has fallen behind in the development of documentation for social and cultural facilities.

As we continue our discussion about taking Turkmenia's natural and national cultural conditions into comprehensive account, we should turn our attention to the aesthetic aspect of the housing tracts. The erroneous opinion that it is "easy" to work in the modern, national spirit has shown up recently. Buildings are rising in the centers of cities, which vary only

in the railings around verandas and balconies. The construction organizations, however, each in its own way, attempts "to embellish" the streets with houses faced with colored tile, with patterns on the ends, and so forth. Here and there one sees now yellow, now brilliant blue or red buildings, with awkward decorations produced on a coarse, amateurish level. When we complain to the builders, we are justifiably reproached for mismanagement, the limited selection of small-scale designs and a bland offering of decorative techniques. I have to admit that the planners have not established close contacts with the republic's artists and sculptors, who could reroute nature's "artistry" into a valid, strong channel and make their contribution to the creation of Turkmen cities with distinctive, national color by introducing elements of synthesis into the development plans.

There are many problems with respect to the quality of urban development in Turkmenistan. It would be impossible to cover them all in a single article. What we have said is sufficient to serve as a basis for drawing conclusions, however. Fundamental alteration of the style and methods used in the building of housing tracts; close contacts with the general contractor and the client and with the republic's creative organizations; the development of standard series which take into account local natural and climatic and social factors; a search for talented planning and architectural solutions--these are what will ultimately make it possible to build truly attractive and convenient southern cities of the future.

From the editors: We invite planners, builders, workers with planning and monitoring agencies and the deputies of soviets of people's deputies to continue the discussion on the future of our cities initiated by F. Bagirov.

11467
CSO: 1800/1

SHEVARDNADZE ADDRESSES CONFERENCE ON DEVELOPMENT OF TBILISI

Tbilisi ZAARYA VOSTOKA in Russian 1 Jul 80 pp 1, 2

[Gruzinform report "In the Georgian CP CC": "The Republic's Capital City: Pass in Review"]

[Text] Comprising within its limits one-quarter of all Georgia's fixed productive capital, Tbilisi manufactures about one-third of the republic's industrial output. Its enterprises, institutions, and organizations account for more than 26 percent of the workers and employees employed in Georgia's economy. This is Tbilisi, the industrial standard bearer of our economy. But in the spiritual life of hundreds of thousands of people, of all who were born and live under Georgia's sky and cherish the sacred dignity and honor of the republic, this city is the foundation and center of the most precious spiritual and moral values.

In the unending succession of memorable events in the city's ancient and recent history, there are a number of milestones which have determined its fate. Obviously, these must include the 37th City Party Conference, which marked a new, a qualitatively new stage in the development of the city's complex, multifaceted economy. Abundantly endowed by nature, history, and the labor of generations of Tbilisians, Tbilisi must become a city worthy of our era, a city of an exemplary communist way of life--such is the task put forth at the conference by the GCP CC.

As to how well this task is being carried out today, during preparations for the 26th CPSU Congress and the 26th GCP Congress was the subject of a detailed and principled discussion of a working conference held in the GCP CC on 28 June. The day's agenda--"The State of Fulfillment of the Tasks Put Forth by the GCP CC at the 37th Tbilisi City Conference"--brought together in the conference hall GCP CC, Supreme Soviet Presidium, and GSSR Council of Ministers officials, Tbilisi Gorkom Buro members, Tbilisi Gorispolkom deputy chairmen, gorkom division chiefs, raykom secretaries, Tbilisi rayispolkom chairmen and deputy chairmen, Tbilisi Gorispolkom division chiefs, city services chiefs, ministers, department heads, directors and party organization secretaries of major city enterprises, and press, radio, and television representatives.

Addressing them, CPSU CC Politburo Candidate-Member and GCP CC First Secretary E. A. Shevardnadze emphasized that similar working conferences must be held all over the republic during the period of preparations for the Georgian and CPSU party organization congresses. The key idea and main task of these meetings is to check up on and analyze the situation in the main work sectors, to bring them into line with previously set goals, and to determine what to do to achieve them in order to arrive at the CPSU and GCP congresses with substantial successes crucial to overall progress.

Comrade E. A. Shevardnadze's address contained a comprehensive analysis of the performance of the capital city's party organization and all the working people, who are implementing the party's and government's decisions and the tasks set forth at the 37th city party conference.

That this process is successful is attested by high national honors--four times our capital city has been awarded the challenge Red Banners of the CPSU CC, the USSR Council of Ministers, the AUCCTU, and the Komsomol CC.

Following a firm course toward accomplishment of the tasks set forth at the conference, the gorkom buro is systematically implementing measures to further enhance the level of the primary party organizations' organizational and political work and fighting trim, to strengthen their influence on all sectors of economic and cultural development, to improve the qualitative make-up of party, soviet, and other leadership cadres, and to strengthen party and state discipline. The main requirement of the conference--"Transform Tbilisi into an Exemplary Communist City!"--has become the ideological core of meaning of a truly nationwide movement. Its interests, the interests of Tbilisi and its inhabitants, of the whole city and each citizen, are inseparable from the interests of the republic and all its working people; they require that attention be focused on how to implement the mandates of the conference and resolve the problems and "bottlenecks" in the development of Georgia's capital city.

Unconditionally meeting planned production growth rates without any laggards, housing construction, providing Tbilisians with housing and maintaining the present housing inventory, water and heating, sanitation, and other key city services, the esthetic appearance of city buildings, residential districts, and rayons--all of these problems were subjected to profound and detailed review in Comrade E. A. Shevardnadze's address. The city's infrastructure--transport, communications, roads and streets, street lighting, the state of affairs in a variety of medical, utility, and consumer service matters, city development and planning, the organization of public food services--all these and many more sectors and aspects of life in a major industrial city were examined in the bright light of analytical investigation. Even questions that at first glance might seem secondary, such as the quality of the paint on the facades of Tbilisi's buildings, and the number of telescoping towers to service street lamps, were touched upon in Comrade E. A. Shevardnadze's address.

Among the institutions capable of providing the city party organization with effective practical aid in resolving the tasks facing it he named the mass information media, the republic's newspapers, television and radio, and the city's press. Sharp criticism was directed at officials of the ministries and departments which are doing a poor job of carrying out their promises and obligations to the citizens of Tbilisi.

In conclusion, Comrade E. A. Shevardnadze urged people to draw the necessary conclusions, to focus attention on the issues that were raised, not to ignore seeming trivialities, to mobilize all efforts for successful completion of the five-year plan, so as to greet the 26th GCP Congress and the 26th CPSU Congress with new achievements in all aspects of city life, and to carry out the decisions of the June CPSU CC Plenum and the directives of CPSU CC General Secretary Comrade L. I. Brezhnev given in his report at the plenum.

Also speaking at the conference were Tbilisi Gorkom First Secretary T. N. Menteshashvili and Tbilisi Gorispolkom Chairman G. D. Gabuniya.

The conference was participated in by GCP CC Organizational-Party Work Division Head S. Ye. Khabeishvili.

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